University of Alberta

The Assault Event: Individuals, Interactions and Interpretations

by

Erin Elan Gibbs Van Brunschot ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfullment
of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Department of Sociology

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my husband, Jim, and to my daughter, Giorgia Raine, both of whom represent the best part of my life.

Abstract

Assault is the most common crime of violence and has been referred to as the "foundation offense" upon which analyses of other forms of violent behaviour have been built. At its most basic, assault consists of the physical or symbolic imposition of one body upon another physical (or symbolic) body. An assaultive exchange therefore consists of a minimum of two persons/bodies, each of whom play the role of either (or both) assaulter or assaulted within a specific exchange. In a particular assaultive situation, individuals bring with them certain characteristics that serve to socially situate -- interacting other(s) make certain assumptions regarding these characteristics. Assumptions about the characteristics of others are based not only upon the specifics of the immediate situation, but also upon the past experiences of the interpreting other, either the past experiences with a specific individual or with categorically similar others. Framed within an event perspective, which includes a consideration of the spatial, temporal and interpersonal dimensions of assault, this analysis quantitatively describes both situated and situational characteristics of assault participants and circumstances. As well, the analysis consists of a qualitative examination of the interpretations of assault participants, and the means by which these interpretations are framed within two overarching themes: freedom from imposition (primarily in the case of victims) and freedom to impose (primarily in the case of offenders).

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The task of finishing a PhD is not one that I was able to undertake alone. There are many who have helped me in a number of ways, from giving me the "straight goods" about what I have written, to allowing me to work unencumbered for hours at a time.

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Table of Contents

Chapter **Page**

One: The Assault Event 1

Bodily Freedom and Bodily Integrity: Assault and the Law 5
Assessing Intent and Consent: Relationships 8
Fear and Risk: The Victim's Perspective 11
Implications for Research 14

Two: Theorizing Assaultive Behaviour 18

The Situated and Situational 18
Explaining Assault: Criminological Theories, Space and Time 21
Situated Explanations: Assaulters, Assaultees and
  Kinds of Places 22
    Situating the Offender: Control Theory 23
    Situating the Victim: Vulnerability Versus Proneness 28
    Lifestyles Theory of Victimization and
      Subcultural Theories of Offending 31
    Situating Place: Kinds of Locations 34
    Summary 37
Situational Explanations: Temporal Immediacy 38
    Situational Characteristics of Persons: Alcohol/Drugs 39
    Situational Characteristics of Places: Routine Activities Theory 40
        Third Parties 42
        Time of Assault 44
    Summary 45
Conclusion 46

Three: Methodology 46

Data Source 49
Sample 51
Coding Instrument 52
Narratives 53
Correlates of Assaultive Behaviour 54
Conclusion 55

Four: Situated and Situational Characteristics of Assault 55

Situating Participants: Demographic Description of Offenders and Victims 57
Situating Participants: Victim-Offender Relationship 66
  Summary 71
Situating Participants: Criminal Record 72
Situating Places: Domains and Places 81
  Summary 83
Situational Elements of Assault: Persons and Places 85
  Summary 88
Conclusion 89

Five: The Interpersonal Dimension - The Assault Transaction 91

Structuring Assault 91
Scripting Aggression 96
Structuring the Assault Event: Protective Self-Presentation 100
Protective Self-Presentation: Naming and Claiming 102
    Verbal Insults 106
    Direct Verbal Expressions 108
    Refusal to Cooperate/Comply 111
    Refusals to Conciliate Relationship/Misunderstanding 113
    Refusal to Comply with Sexual Request 115
    Physical or Non-Verbal Gesture 117
Identifying Initiators 122
Assertive Self-Presentation 124
Assessing Situated Transactions 128
Assessing Assertive Self-Presentation 133
Structuring and Self-Presentation 134
Structuring Assault: Personal Freedom and Integrity 136
Accounting for Assault 137
    "Out of the Blue" 138
    "Minding My Own Business" 139
    "Self-Defense" 140
    "Participant's Nature" 142
    "Repeat Performance" 144
Experiencing and Writing Assault 145
Conclusion 147

Six: The Aftermath 151

The Aftermath: Victim Injury 151
Assessing Victimization 158
The Aftermath: Judicial Responses to Assault 160

"Lay Your Own Information" 161
Entering the Criminal Justice System 165
Conclusion 173

Seven: The Assault Event Revisited 176

What is Assault? 176
Structuring the Assault Event 178
The Issues Underlying Assault 182
(Re)Assessing the Criminal Event Perspective 183
Directions For Future Research 186
Conclusion 187

Bibliography 189

Appendix One: **Criminal Code Definitions of Assault** 200

Appendix Two: **Occurrence Coding Form** 202

Appendix Three: **Accused Coding Form** 206

Appendix Four: **Complainant Coding Form** 211

Appendix Five: **Witness Coding Form** 215

Appendix Six: **Transaction Coding Form** 218

Appendix Seven: **Tables** 223

List of Tables

Table	Description	Page
4.1	Situated Characteristics of Offenders	59
4.2	Situated Characteristics of Victims	61
4.3	Offender-Victim Relationship	67
4.4	Criminal Record: Offenders	73
4.5	Criminal Record: Victims	78
4.6	Assault Location	82
4.7	Situational Characteristics	87
6.1	Offenders Not Charged (Including Lay Own Information) by Level of Assault	165
6.2	Assault Charge Distribution (First Charge Only) by Level of Assault	166
6.3	Summary of Offender Charges by Type of Assault	169
6.4	Final Dispositions for Assault Charges	171

List of Figures

Figure	Description	Page
4.1	Victim Age by Offender Age	64
4.2	Victim Race by Offender Race	65
4.3	Victim Sex by Offender Sex	66
4.4	Victim Sex by Victim-Offender Relationship	69
4.5	Victim Race by Victim-Offender Relationship	70
4.6	Location by Victim-Offender Relationship	83
5.1	Initiating Actions and Scripts	105
5.2	Assault Spirals	130
5.3	Self-Presentation Continuum: Relevant Issues	135
5.4	Accounting for Assault	138
6.1	Extent of Injury, All Assaults	154
6.2	Extent of Injury by Level of Assault	154
6.3	Victim-Offender Relationship by Mean Total Injury	156
6.4	Victim's Race by Extent of Injury	157
6.5	Same Criminal Record By Extent of Injury	158

Chapter One: The Assault Event

When we think of violent behaviour, images of weapon-toting strangers lurking in the dark prevail. Despite our media-induced images of rapists and murderers as the most prevalent violent offenders (or at least the types of offenders we should concern ourselves with), assault is, in fact, the most common crime of violence. In 1993, common assaults accounted for almost 60% of all reported crimes of violence in Canada, with assault rates having climbed steadily over the past 10 years (Juristat, 1994, Vol. 14, No. 14). Although sex offenders and murderers have captured the attention of both the media and academia, UCR[1] (Uniform Crime Reporting) statistics, as well as results from victimization surveys (Statistics Canada, General Social Survey 1988 and 1993), suggest that the chances of being physically assaulted are far greater than are the chances of being sexually assaulted or murdered.

Notwithstanding the prevalence of assault in criminal statistics, as well as public fears of physical victimization, physical assault remains perhaps the most understudied crime of violence -- there has been virtually no studies of assault in the Canadian context. Studies that have considered assault have tended to be "tag-along" studies, such that aggravated assaults are most often studied as failed homicide attempts (i.e. Felson and Steadman, 1983; Pokorny, 1965). While there has been a predominance of studies that have considered domestic assault more specifically, the extent to which these studies are generalizable to other assault situations is not clear. Still other research has considered assault as one element of "criminal activity" along with other indicators of criminal behaviour (i.e. Lauritsen, Laub and Sampson, 1992). However understudied, assault has been described as the "foundation offence" upon which laws regarding other offences have been constructed (LRCC[2], 1984: 1), with issues basic to assault also basic to more rare crimes of violence, such as rape and murder.

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[1] The UCR (Uniform Crime Reporting) is a system that surveys police departments across Canada in order to collect standardized statistical information on criminal activity for both public and judicial use.

The purpose of this study is thus to examine the crime of assault in depth. But what exactly does assault refer to -- what does it mean to be assaulted, or to be involved in an assaultive situation? Assault involves the dynamic interplay of both an offender and a victim and, often, an audience, within a particular setting or settings. Viewed as the outcome of a dynamic exchange between parties, assault is more accurately conceived as a process, or event (Sacco and Kennedy, 1994) rather than as the exclusive outcome of particular types of people or types of opportunities.

Viewed as an event, assault becomes significantly more complex than the three prespecified categories suggested by the Criminal Code. Criminal justice statistics leave the impression that assaults occur with little within-category variation. Statistics simplify assault by categorizing and abstracting from the contexts in which assaults occur. The difficulty with categorization, such as that employed by the UCR system, is that it disregards the processual nature of the assault occurrence. A variety of experience is translated into categories which serve to obscure as much as they illuminate. As Nettler (1984) notes, official (UCR) data gathered under legal rubric should not imply and does not describe a set of homogeneous actions produced by similar actors. The task of the researcher is to identify both the heterogeneous and homogeneous features of assault and explain how these features fit together.

Viewing assaultive behaviour, or social behaviour of any kind, as a process requires that theoretical attention be paid to individual characteristics, situational conditions and interpersonal exchanges that occur temporally prior to, during, as well as after the assault incident. As Abrams suggests, assault is best understood as a problem to be treated historically, that is, assault is a process of "becoming" and is not a specific

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[2] Law Reform Commission of Canada.

"incident" (1982: 267). Rather than concentrating on the incidence of assaultive behaviour or the macro-structural sources of assault, in this study I prioritize the micro-level processes and context in order to facilitate understanding the nuances of assaultive behaviour, and the conditions under which assaultive behaviour take place.

The primary question that I will address is: "how does one theoretically and analytically capture the dynamic interplay of factors that constitute an assault?" The means by which this task is accomplished is by incorporating temporal, spatial and interpersonal dimensions into the analyses. Perceiving assault as a dynamic process necessitates a historical or temporal dimension. The temporal dimension involves the examination of individual histories and characteristics of participants (thus incorporating individual factors existing temporally prior to and independent of the assault), as well as an examination of the assaultive exchange as an interplay of action/reaction among participants. The spatial dimension incorporates various levels of abstraction, including tangible environmental features such as physical location and the presence or absence of third parties. The spatial dimension also includes more intangible factors that socially locate participants, through characteristics such as age, sex and race. A final and most important dimension of assault is the interpersonal dimension. The interpersonal dimension is critical to understanding how it is that participants in assault have defined and assessed their roles in the assault situation, their relationships to one another, and how they have acted based upon their interpretations of factors relevant to both the temporal and spatial dimensions.

The advantage to considering assault as an event is that explanations are no longer limited to singular components or parts of assault, such as criminality (the actions of offenders), or victimization (perhaps the lack of action of victims), nor are only unitary or generic interpretations or definitions of assault situations considered. Rather than viewed as separate elements of assault, I consider these elements simultaneously within the event model which incorporates temporal, spatial and interpersonal dimensions. These dimensions provide an organizing framework in which to bring together various aspects of assault primarily by way of considering assault as an event consisting of precursors, the criminal transaction, and an aftermath.[3] As with other frameworks, this particular framework organizes and manages complex phenomena. Specific aspects of the assault event therefore "fit" the framework to greater or lesser degrees.

My consideration of the assault event is prefaced by a brief examination of specific issues that establish assaultive behaviour as the "foundational basis" for examinations of violent behaviour more generally. I first consider criminal law as it relates to assaultive behaviour and the underlying issues that (assault) law attempts to deal with -- personal freedom and intent, and personal integrity and consent (LRCC, 1984). These issues provide an introduction to a key distinction found in the violent crime literature -- the relationship between victim and offender, and more specifically, domestic versus stranger violence. I then consider public perceptions of personal safety and fear of personal victimization by considering data from the 1993 General Social Survey (GSS), as well as results from the All Alberta Survey (1993). Perceptions of fear are integrally connected to issues of personal freedom and integrity, and are variously tied to the temporal, spatial and interpersonal dimensions of assault.

---

[3] My use of the criminal event framework differs somewhat from that used by Sacco and Kennedy (1994). Their suggestion that criminal events consist of precursors, the transaction (the crime) and an aftermath is consistent with my use of the criminal event. What differs, however, is my distinction between spatial characteristics associated with the temporal past (situated characteristics) and the temporal present (situational characteristics). (These distinctions will be elaborated in Chapter Two). Sacco and Kennedy place these characteristics exclusively into the "precursor" stage (Stage One) of their analysis. Their second stage is essentially what I have considered the interpersonal dimension, the direct action-reaction of people directly involved in the assault. My interpretation of the criminal event perspective facilitates the application of the criminal event perspective to a particular data set, while the event perspective as outlined by Sacco and Kennedy is directed more toward theoretical versus substantive questions.

Bodily Freedom and Bodily Integrity: Assault and the Law

The majority of Canadian law is based upon English law, with laws related to assault being no exception. Central to both historical and current laws defining assaultive behaviour are the issues of personal freedom -- the freedom of an individual to use his body or body parts (i.e. a hand) as he pleased(s); and personal integrity -- the right of an individual to private comportment of his person.[4] An historical examination of the laws relating to assaultive behaviour suggest two trends. First, "a general progression from comparative leniency to considerable strictness regarding violence" (LRCC, 1984: 19). Prior to the 19th century, fines were the primary means with which assaults were dealt, with crimes against the person being treated more leniently than property offenses. Since that time, however, crimes of violence such as assault have been dealt with more harshly. Second, there was "a gradual 'trivializing' or 'technicalizing' of the concept of assault" (LRCC, 1984: 19). Whereas evidence of bruises or broken bones constituted an assault prior to the seventeenth century, by the nineteenth century, "the slightest 'force' came to constitute a battery if exercised intentionally, and without the victim's consent -- mere touching is enough" (LRCC, 1984: 19).

The increasing technicalization and redefinition of assault corresponds with the issues of bodily territoriality (i.e. Lyman and Scott, 1967; Gurevitch, 1990; Frank, 1993), and the "invisible wall of affects" raised between one human body and another throughout the mid- to 20th centuries (Elias, 1978). In his analysis of how notions of civilization have undergone and continue to undergo change, Elias suggests that "the standard of what society demands and prohibits changes; in conjunction with this, the threshold of socially instilled displeasure and fear moves; and the question of sociogenic fears thus emerges as one of the central problems of the civilizing process" (1978: xiii). Elias explains that part of the civilizing process is the suppression of "animalistic tendencies" in ourselves, such as the urge to fight. Physical fighting is seen as somehow base, or basic to nature, which contradicts societal (and individual) aspirations to civility. The suppression of these "natural" tendencies is facilitated through the use of manners and language, for example, such that an emotional barrier is erected between one body and another. Lyman and Scott note that bodily territories are the most private territories belonging to an individual, whereby the "rights of others to touch one's body are everywhere regulated, though perhaps modern societies impose greater restrictions than others" (1967: 241). The possibility of transgressing the body's emotional barrier and the potential impingement on the physical body itself serve to construct the body as a "psychological danger zone" (Elias, 1978: 168). The imagery of the invisible "wall of affects" surrounding the body suggests a mental and physical duality associated with the body. Assault is no longer simply a physical impingement upon one's body, but it is also the transgressing of the mental or symbolic barrier (i.e. through threats) surrounding one's body by an other or others.

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[4] Pronouns are intentionally masculine as law historically recognized only male persons.

Laws relating to assault therefore deal with matters of consent and the values of bodily inviolability, privacy and personal integrity, as well as intent and personal freedom (LRCC, 1984: 25). Central to the problem of assault is the fact that we are touched by numerous persons during the course of our daily activities without our consent, yet we do not perceive these touches as assaultive. Because many touches occur without consent, assault is perhaps less a matter of consent but rather a matter of objection -- "assault" is therefore touching an unwilling and objecting victim (LRCC, 1984: 25), thus transgressing an individual's right to bodily inviolability.[5] On an assault continuum, at one end is touching an objecting victim/recipient, and at the other end is touching that causes harm (aggravated assault). Laws applying to aggravated assault intend to secure an individual against bodily injury, thereby securing the right to bodily integrity (LRCC, 1984: 26). In law, consent may be a defense to common assault, but it is not a defence to aggravated assault. In other words, a victim may consent to be touched, but one cannot consent to be harmed. Intent, on the other hand, refers to an actor's desired outcome. In the case of assault, establishing intent means an actor has purposefully transgressed the boundaries (either symbolic or physical) of the other's body. The nature and result of this trangression, whether symbolic or physical, is reflected in criminal statutes prohibiting assault.

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[5] Touching without consent is the technical definition of force. "Force", however, does not imply violence as we commonly use the term.

A recognition of the range of behaviours and the practical and theoretical midpoint between touching and harming formed part of the rationale for the Criminal Code changes regarding assault (both sexual and non-sexual) introduced by Bill C-127 in 1983. The redefinition of assaultive behaviour categorized assault into three distinct levels, based primarily on level of injury caused to the victim. The first level of assault (common assault) is defined as when a person "intentionally applies force or attempts or threatens to apply force to another person" (Juristat, 1993, Vol. 13, No. 6). Uttering a threat alone would not constitute an assault, as words must be accompanied by an act or gesture. The second level of assault is typically "characterized by the presence of injuries such as broken bones, cuts or bruises" (Juristat, 1993, Vol. 13, No. 6), and is referred to as assault causing bodily harm, with or without a weapon. The second level of assault essentially recognizes the midpoint between touching and harming, or "hurting". Aggravated assault is the third and most serious level and is characterized by a victim who has had his or her life endangered, or is disfigured, maimed or wounded.[6]

The issues of freedom and integrity therefore specify that assault is, at its most basic, an impingement and territorial encroachment upon the personal spaces (symbolic and/or physical) of certain persons at the behest of others. Critical to the interpretation of encroachment are the issues of intent and consent, assessments of which are determined (in part) by the relationship of one actor to another. An actor's evaluation of an other's intent is a derivative of their shared relationship as familiar, unfamiliar, or somewhere in between. Consent is also tied to social relationships through the expectations and parameters of behaviour associated with these relationships. Despite the range of relationships found amongst those involved in assault, I turn now to a key distinction observed in studies of violent behaviour -- that of familiar or "domestic" versus stranger violence.

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[6] Refer to Appendix One for the Criminal Code sections that comprise the three respective levels of assault.

Assessing Intent and Consent: Relationships

The implications of labelling assaultive behaviour as "domestic" or "stranger" suggests that assault occurring between intimates is somehow different or unique from that occurring between strangers. Hilton (1989), for example, examined public perceptions toward wife and stranger assault through various scenarios. Hilton found that, in comparison with assault scenarios involving stranger victims, assault scenarios involving men assaulting their wives were more likely to elicit recommendations for the police to advise or refer the couple than to lay charges (1989: 331). Although the Criminal Code does not recognize any particular relationship in situations defined as assaultive, the distinction has had clear legal implications.[7] The distinction between domestic versus stranger assault is, however, a relatively new phenomenon, as it appears that prior to the 1970's domestic assault did not exist in public perceptions nor in academic studies.[8]

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[7] There are two exceptions regarding particular types of relationships recognized in the Criminal Code statutes against assault: Section 270, assaulting a police or other officer, and Section 269.1, torture, which involves the affliction of torture at the instigation or the consent of an official. Sec. 269 is rarely used. Section 43, however, allows parents and others to use "reasonable force" against a child by way of correction if it does not exceed what is reasonable under the circumstances. This section has been interpreted by some as children being the only remaining class of citizens who can be assaulted for their correction (Calgary Herald, Monday, March 25, 1996, p. B3).

At least part of the reason for the distinction observed between assaults involving intimates versus strangers is due to the perceived dilemma in balancing the privacy of intimate relationships (and often the privacy of the family) with the rights of individuals to receive protection and be protected by the state (Ferraro, 1986: 50). Straus (1993) notes that "crime is only one of many types of behaviour for which there are different rules and expectations for the family as compared to other groups or situations" (p. 588). Intimacy appears to legitimate certain types of violence. Knowledge of intimate assault and failure to report such incidents has been hindered by notions of privacy, with involvement by outside parties neither encouraged nor welcomed. As Riedel (1993) notes, greater fear is typically associated with the unknown, or the stranger, than with intimates. Unlike the contact that we have with intimates, contact with strangers is perceived as unpredictable and is thus more feared (Silverman and Kennedy, 1993: 65). In contrast to intimates, our knowledge of strangers is limited and is inferred based on limited cues. As Riedel notes, "an identity is imputed to them [strangers] based on general and abstract social categories" (1993: 93), which serve to "determine expectations and guide interaction". Despite these differences, Heller, Ehrlich and Lester note that "a close and personal relationship between offender and victim is related to the heightened brutality of the crime and, therefore, to greater severity of victim injury" (1983: 229).

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[8] Beyond changing assault to three distinct levels, the introduction of Bill C-127 also impacted on the abilities of police to charge offenders. Bill C-127 changed common assault to a dual procedure, meaning that assault could be treated as either a summary conviction or indictable offense (previously it had been considered a summary conviction offense). One implication of this change is that police are now able to arrest a person if they have reasonable and probable grounds to suspect that an assault has occurred. Previously, police could only arrest either when they had witnessed an assault, or if the complainant had suffered obvious bodily harm. This capability has made arrests in domestic assault situations, for example, much more likely (Juristat, Vol. 13, No. 6).

Despite the distinction between domestic and other assaults, Fagan and Wexler (1987) consider the similarities between the literatures examining stranger versus intimate assaults. They note that both literatures tend to focus on family background and the early childhood origins of violent behaviour; external situational factors shaped by the immediate situation; violence as endemic in society more generally; and patriarchy and the ideology of male supremacy as responsible for violent behaviour toward women (Fagan and Wexler, 1987: 13). Rather than being as highly contextual as first thought, Fagan observes that violence may be generalized by some offenders from intimates to strangers (1988: 175). In their study, Shields, McCall and Hanneke (1988: 85) investigate three patterns of assaultive behaviour by individuals -- those who are violent toward family members only, those who are violent toward non-family members only; and the generally violent individual who directs violence toward both family and non-family. Their results indicate that "the 'family only' group uses violence primarily as a means of dealing with stress and conflict within the marital relationship, whereas 'generally' violent men seem to rely on violence as a general interpersonal strategy" (Shields et al, 1988: 93). Fewer differences were found between the generally violent and non-family only group than between the family only and generally violent groups.

The law and its emphasis on personal freedom and integrity highlights the immediate or proximal nature of assault, with assault as a violation of bodily (symbolic or physical) integrity. Reflecting on the impact of social relationship on assault moves the discussion to a different level of abstraction -- from the practical (or physical) realm to a level of abstraction consisting of social expectations and obligations, and how these differ between intimates and strangers. Intimate relationships transcend specific assault situations, as they include a history that goes beyond the confines of the present situation. History appears to confound consent with intimacy, such that intimate relationships imply consent unlike stranger relationships. The boundaries of consensual activity associated with and between strangers appear may be more clearly demarcated than those between intimates.

The expectations we have regarding our personal integrity as well as our perceptions of personal freedom (and its limits) both restrain and are enhanced by feelings of fear. Fear is manifest in the boundaries of the symbolic body, incorporating a level of abstraction far removed from the potential or actual violation of physical (bodily) spaces. Victimization studies speak to the generalized perceptions of fear that our (symbolic or physical) bodily integrity will be violated. Elias suggests that fear is integral to the placement of boundaries drawn about the body (1978). The following section briefly describes the results of current victimization studies to illustrate how threats to bodily integrity are defined and enhanced, as well as the factors that appear to put one at risk of such violation.

Fear and Risk: The Victim's Perspective

In 1993, the General Social Survey (GSS), conducted by Statistics Canada (see Juristat, 1994, Vol. 14, No. 13), consisted of a replicated survey on personal risk related to criminal victimization (initially carried out in 1988). As with other victimization surveys, the goal of this research was to shed light on the "dark figure" of crime -- crime that does not appear in official statistics for a variety of reasons. In 1993, assaults (all levels) made up nearly 73% of all violent crimes (Juristat, 1994, Vol. 14, No. 14), yet the 1993 GSS found that 68% of assaults are not brought to the attention of the police. Hence it appears that the incidence of non-sexual (physical) assault is not only far greater than official statistics indicate[9], but that assaults are more prevalent than official statistics already suggest.

---

[9] Assault statistics for the years 1974 to 1993 for Canada suggest that levels of assault have indeed been climbing over the past ten years. The upward trend is most obvious for common assault, with slower increases for both levels two and three. The majority of the upward trend may be attributed to the

Results of the 1993 GSS indicate that approximately 24% of the population had been victimized in the past year.[10] This figure remained essentially unchanged from 1988. As might be expected from UCR data, the highest rates of personal victimization were found for assault. While the UCR reports a steady increase in assaults between 1988 and 1993, the GSS shows stability in the assault rate. At the same time, however, the GSS suggests a slight increase in the numbers of people not reporting assault in 1993 (68% did not report assaults in 1993, compared with 65% in 1988).

While most characteristics remained essentially the same for the two surveys, two characteristics of assaultive victimization changed significantly. Specifically, 38% of 1993 reports of assault victimizations were perpetrated by strangers, in contrast to 27% in 1988. The majority of assaults, however, continued to be committed by persons known to the victim (57% were known to the victim in 1993, as were 65% known to the victim in 1988). Besides a shift in the relationship of the offender to the victim, the location of the incident also changed. In 1988, 41% of assault victimizations occurred in the victim's home, compared to 31% in 1993. Assault victimizations in 1993 were therefore more likely to be perpetrated by strangers, and were more likely to have occurred in a public place. Perhaps willingness to report assault victimizations to police has been influenced by the increasing likelihood that the assault was perpetrated by a stranger in a public place.

In 1988, the GSS found that the crime most feared by both males and females was physical attack (42%). Urban dwellers were found to be more fearful of physical attack (45%) than were their rural counterparts (36%) who most feared theft (39% of rural

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participation of males. In 1993, for example, the adult male common assault rate in Canada was over seven times that of the female assault rate. Assault trends for Alberta parallel the trends noted at the federal level, however, Alberta's assault rates exceed the federal rates at every level of assault.

[10] The GSS was conducted throughout 1993, therefore the past year could technically include two calendar years, 1992 and 1993. See Juristat, Vol. 14, No. 13 for general methodological information on the GSS.

dwellers feared theft, compared to 34% of urban). Fear of physical attack, however, was far more prevalent among females than males (55% of females compared to 29% of males). Perhaps legitimately so. In 1993, GSS personal victimization rates were noted to have risen for females yet remain higher for males, urban dwellers, persons aged 15-24 years, as well as for single persons. Victimization rates in 1993 were highest for females aged 15-24 (333 per 1000), single females (311 per 1000) and separated or divorced females (374 per 1000) (Juristat, 1994, Vol. 14, No. 13).

Fear of physical attack and of personal victimization are reflected in the 1993 GSS findings regarding feelings of safety -- most respondents (46%) perceived that the level of crime in their neighborhood had increased in the past five years. The majority of respondents (57%) also believed that the particular neighborhood in which they lived had a lower level of crime than other areas. In comparison to 1988, however, fewer people indicated that they felt very safe walking alone at night (40% in 1988, compared to 32% in 1993). Females were much more likely to feel unsafe (42%) in comparison to males (10%), as were urban residents (29% compared to rural residents 15%). Similar findings were noted in a recent Gallup Poll (1994) which, in 1994, found that 35% of those surveyed were afraid to walk at night. This Gallup Poll also found that females (53%) were significantly more afraid than males (15%). The findings above appear to be much the same at the provincial level.

Although lacking comparable provincial or Calgary data, the 1983 Edmonton Area Study suggests that feelings of personal safety have substantially decreased over the past ten years. In 1983, when asked how safe the respondent felt about being out alone in one's neighborhood after dark at night, 11% of respondents indicated that they felt unsafe (which included the responses "unsafe" and "very unsafe"). Although the question differed somewhat in 1993, the finding that 38% of Edmonton respondents felt unsafe walking in their neighborhood at night suggests a significant increase in the amount of fear of personal victimization. Fear of walking in or being out alone in one's neighborhood after dark does not appear to be attributable to significant increases in personal victimization. In 1983, it was noted that 21% of Edmonton respondents indicated that they had been the victim of a crime in the past year, whereas in 1993, it was noted that 24% had been the victim of a crime in the past year.

Implications for Research

The foregoing emphasizes the importance of recognizing assault as an embodied activity (violating symbolic or physical spaces), involving the dynamic movement of persons through time and within particular spaces. Likewise, victimization studies suggest that fears and perceptions related to victimization and experiences of victimization are contextually dependent, integrally connected to issues of space (public or private places, familiar or unfamiliar persons) and time (night versus day, and present versus past perceptions of fear).

Understanding assault as an event requires consideration of the (temporal, spatial and interpersonal) context in which assaults occur. Contextualizing, however, is neither self-evident nor simply a matter of providing temporal and spatial information. The purpose of contextualizing is to set boundaries, essentially "sectioning off" chaos and applying a framework to it (Smith, Dorothy, 1987: 115). Whether contextualizing through the various above-mentioned dimensions, or freeze-framing a particular moment of this process, the authenticity of a particular analysis is not confirmed by the completeness of the picture (Clough, 1992: 25). In other words, by saying that the event framework allows for the simultaneous inclusion of types of information not typically included in studies of criminal behaviour, should not imply that this framework will necessarily produce the most "truthful" understanding of assault. Taussig (1990: 226) suggests that in contextualizing we may mistakenly assume a "secure epistemic nest in which our knowledge-eggs are to be safely hatched", suggesting that it is "as if our understandings of social relations and history, understandings which constituted the fabric of such context, were not themselves fragile intellectual constructs posing as robust realities obvious to our contextualizing gaze" (Taussig, 1990: 226). My interpretation of the criminal event is ultimately a construction as is the data analyzed within this construction.

A recognition of the difficulties and the fabrication associated with an event perspective, however, does not (and should not) detract from the utility and potential associated with such a framework. Considering assault through an event perspective requires that we consider the issues of bodily freedom and bodily integrity as they apply to offenders and victims within variable assault contexts. A reliance on official statistics alone cannot explain why it is that assaults occur; nor can statistics begin to answer questions about the people involved in this type of violent behaviour; nor about the situations that appear conducive to assault. Statistics alone provide few answers, while victimization studies such as the GSS provide details limited to one perspective. Victimization studies are also limited in that they do not provide the data critical to this study -- narratives which relate to a specific event that detail interaction. Ideally, the most appropriate means of studying assault would include observing assaults as they progress from start to finish. The researcher is rarely so ethically and practically unrestrained to accommodate such direct examination.

The present study relies instead on police files of assault occurrences. Police files are, admittedly, removed from the actual incident, and the police perpective is embedded in the data gathered. At the same time, however, police files are unique in that they are temporally the most proximate and complete form of data available to the researcher. Unlike other sources of data, police files (in contrast to official statistics) contain not only demographic and other data associated with each participant, but also the words and interpretations of those directly (and indirectly) involved in the assault event through the inclusion of narratives.

The goals of the present study are as follows: to describe a sample of assault cases and relevant characteristics within the framework of the assault event; to examine the micro-social interactions of the assaultive exchange in order to develop a generalizable framework; and, finally, to contribute to criminological research by juxtaposing quantifiable data from a specific sample with the generalizable framework generated through an examination of the assault narratives. The strength of this research is its unique contribution to the literature in that it describes offenders, victims as well as circumstances of assault, at the same time that it examines interactive exchanges between participants, shedding light on both the simplicities and complexities of the assault process. Unlike studies that limit their focus to the offender alone or the victim alone, this study allows for the simultaneous examination of participants in each others co-presence and the resulting interactions within specific assault situations.

In order to accomplish these objectives, I next turn to a consideration of theoretical perspectives employed and implicit in examinations of the assault phenomenon (Chapter Two). Chapter Two secures my "epistemic nest-eggs" by elaborating upon criminology's theoretical intersections of the temporal, spatial and interpersonal dimensions of assault. Chapter Two provides a means by which various elements (or temporal segments) of the assault event may be criminologically interpreted. The theories discussed highlight the means by which criminological theories mesh with an event perspective, and how it is that these explanations address various (situated and situational) parts of the criminal event. I next establish the method by which the data for the present study has been secured (Chapter Three). Chapter Four consists of a descriptive analysis of characteristics of the assault event. Here I make use of a randomly-generated sample of assault events. The generalizability of these findings is somewhat limited, however, by the parametres of the sampling frame (assaults reported to police) and the characteristics of the population (a mid-size Canadian metropolis). Chapter Five highlights the interpersonal dimension of what actually transpired during the assaultive transaction by way of examining the narratives generated throughout the course of the police investigation. The results of this analysis are an interpretive framework applicable to assault more generally, describing the process incurred in assaultive exchanges. Chapter Six returns to the quantifiable data used in Chapter Four, and consists of a brief examination of the aftermath of assault by considering victim injury and judicial sentencing. Chapter Seven highlights significant findings, elaborates on what has been learned and concludes with recommendations for future study.

Chapter Two: Theorizing Assaultive Behaviour

In order to facilitate and organize a more complete examination of assault, my review of the pertinent theoretical and empirical literature regarding violent (in this case, assaultive) behaviour, and my subsequent examination of the data, will be guided by the organizing framework of viewing assault as an event consisting of three interrelated dimensions -- the temporal, spatial and interpersonal dimensions. Conceptualizing assault as an event or process implies that assault includes precursors, or elements that occur temporally prior to the particular assault situation; the assault situation itself; and the follow-up or aftermath to the assault. An understanding of the relationship between the above-mentioned dimensions is facilitated by reference to Goffman's (1982) distinctions between the "situated" and "situational".

The Situated and Situational

In his 1982 presidential address to the American Sociological Association, Goffman explains that his work begins with a "body to body starting point". Goffman refers to this face-to-face domain as the "interaction order" (1982: 2), and emphasizes the importance of such an analytic domain because of the fact that we spend much of our lives in the presence of other people. Goffman further distinguishes between the "situated" and the "situational" realms of analysis. "Situated" refers to factors incidentally located in social situations which effectively act as background to social interaction. "Situational" refers to factors characterizing face-to-face social interactions which comprise the immediate spatial and temporal context (foreground) of assault. Goffman notes that the situated, "could, without great change be located outside" the situational face-to-face transaction (1982: 2). Situated factors are essentially "extra-situational", transcending the circumscribed temporal and spatial boundaries of the face-to-face situation. The temporal and spatial dimensions therefore intersect in these two realms of analysis: The situational marks the intersection of the temporal *present* with the spatial dimension (consisting of persons and places), while the situated marks the intersection of the temporal *past* with the spatial dimension (consisting of persons and places).

Participants involved in a specific (face-to-face) situation assess other persons within the immediate situation based on two fundamental forms of identification -- categoric (or social) identification and individual (or specific) identification (Goffman, 1982: 3). Categoric identification involves the placing of individuals within one or more social categories, and serves the purpose of spatially (socially and structurally) locating individuals. Social categories, however, are predetermined, such that categoric identification transcends the (spatial and temporal) boundaries of the immediate situation intersecting with the temporal past. Particular categories, such as age, race and sex, are used by actors within a situation to socially situate individuals with whom they are interacting. Individual identification, on the other hand, consists of identifying characteristics or traits that are specific to the individual him or herself, such as height, tone of voice and gestures, that are immediately and only obvious to interacting individuals through their mutual co-presence. Individual or specific person identification highlights characteristics directly associated with an individual's immediate physical presence. Individual identification is significantly more circumscribed than categoric identification, as individual identification becomes significant only by virtue of being within another's immediate physical presence.

Although Goffman's two forms of identification refer specifically to an individual's assessment of other actors, the same forms of identification may also refer to individuals' assessments of places, or environments. When applied to places, categoric identification suggests that particular locations may also be categorized according to various social criteria. Bars or pubs, for example, may be characterized as public, whereas one's home may be characterized as private. Categorizing environments is predetermined (by ones' own previous experiences as well as by structural impositions) and transcends the temporal present. Similarly, there are specific characteristics of an environment or place that make it unique, such as the number of bystanders.[1] Specific identifiers of place are circumscribed by the situational. The spatial dimension may therefore be demarcated with reference to person (social location), or place (physical location), while the temporal dimension is demarcated primarily with reference to the past (the situated) or the present (the situational). Situated characteristics are those that categorically identify persons and places, while situational characteristics specifically (or uniquely) identify persons and places.

Goffman (1982) refers to face-to-face interaction as the interaction order, with the interaction order occurring within the realm of the situational. The interaction order consists of the specific exchange occurring between individuals during their mutual co-presence. In my analysis, I suggest that the interpersonal dimension incorporates the interaction order and not only includes face-to-face interaction, but also includes past interaction occurring between parties (should such interaction exist) which may impact on the present situation. The interpersonal dimension therefore transcends the present with individual actors assessing a particular situation with respect to both situational (present) and situated (past) cues. The interpersonal dimension incorporates elements of the temporal past, through categoric identification of persons and places, and the temporal present, through specific identification of persons and places.

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[1] Dunn refers to these environmental specifics as, "salient features, characteristics, or elements of the assault incident" (1976: 9).

Explaining Assault: Criminological Theories, Space and Time

Goffman's distinction between the situated and the situational and his subsequent distinction between categoric versus specific (individual) identification of persons and place are parallelled in criminological explanations of violent behaviour. Explanations of assault have tended to separate situated characteristics from the situational, analyzing elements within these realms as if they are independent, and not simply parts of a larger assault process. Explanations of assault that focus on situated characteristics of the offender are essentially theories of criminality. Rather than attempting to explain criminal opportunities, explanations of the offender and his or her propensity to commit crime are sought through a variety of means ranging from psychological and social factors to economic disadvantage and structural strain. The crime itself is important only insofar as it provides a means of demarcating the offender from the non-offender. That which is situationally specific to the crime, characteristics that are associated with the immediate context (opportunity), become non-significant. Still other criminological theories focus specifically on situational aspects of crime, such that situated factors, elements of person and place that transcend the immediate situation, are ignored.[2] What follows is an overview of theoretical explanations, each of which apply more or less to a particular piece or part of the criminal/assault event. Yet these theories considered individually results in an incomplete picture.[3] A simultaneous review of theories applicable to various parts of assault will further understanding of assault as an event.

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[2] Vold (1978) makes a similar point when he suggests that explanations of criminal behaviour may be either mechanistic or developmental. Mechanistic theories focus on the immediate situation, while Vold's developmental theory assumes that "a criminal act occurs when a situation appropriate for it, as defined by the person, is present" (1978: 80).

[3] Vold notes that some of the confusion "regarding crime and criminal behaviour stems from a failure to define and hold constant the level at which they are explained...." (1978: 78). Vold suggests that although certain factors may occur temporally prior to other factors, such as criminality before crime, theories need not address all earlier occurring factors. Vold suggests that holding the analysis at one level (i.e. criminality or crime) reduces the number of variables which must be considered in a theory. However, the argument being put forth here is that precisely **because** assault consists of a complexity of elements and levels, the most adequate understanding of assault necessitates consideration and inclusion

For ease of presentation, I have separated criminological theories applicable to the situated and situational realms from theoretical perspectives which address the interpersonal dimension. The interpersonal dimension is most adequately addressed by more general themes in interactionist sociology and will be addressed and incorporated into the narrative analysis to follow in Chapter Five.

Situated Explanations: Assaulters, Assaultees and Kinds of Places

Criminological theories explaining assault tend to be temporally proximate (situational) or temporally distant (situated).[4] Temporally distant theories that focus on the offender include control theories, as control theories suggest that participants (offenders) bring certain qualities and characteristics (via socialization) into the assault situation that have been established prior to the situation itself.[5] Another example of

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of these various levels. Although simplification may ease analysis, such ease necessarily obscures the complexities of assaultive behaviour, and fails to address the complexities that indeed define assault.

[4] It is important to recognize that theories are not ideal types in their temporal orientations toward the assault process. Routine activities theory, for example, assumes a motivated offender as one element conducive to the occurrence of criminal activity. The offender's motivation, however unanalyzed in this particular theory, is assumed as having occurred temporally prior to the assault situation.

[5] My focus in this dissertation is on sociological or social theories of offending. Unlike sociological theories that consider the interaction of the individual in conjunction with his or her social environment, psychological theories of violent behaviour tend to focus on individual pathologies that result in deviant acts (Silverman and Kennedy, 1993: 57). Cox and Roesch (1992) suggest that the psychological literature has been guided by two assumptions with regard to individual pathologies. The first is the "assumption of offender deficit" whereby it is assumed that the offender is characterized by a psychological abnormality or deviation (Cox and Roesch, 1992: 213). The second is the "assumption of discriminating traits" such that offenders are clearly differentiated from non-offenders in terms of traits such as aggression and impulsivity (Cox and Roesch, 1993: 213). Caspi et al note that these "traits represent consistent characteristics of individuals that are relevant to a wide variety of behavioural domains, including criminality" (1994: 165).

The sociological criticism of psychological theories of violent behaviour are directed toward these two underlying assumptions. First, psychological theories may be criticized for their over-reliance on offender versus non-offender distinctions (Reppucci and Clingempeel, in Cox and Roesch, 1992: 213). Such attempts to differentiate fail to take into account the many ways in which offenders and non-offenders are similar, and terms applied to offenders versus non-offenders, such as psychopath, paranoid, etc., may account for only a small number of cases of violent offending (Silverman and Kennedy, 1993: 57). A second criticism is the failure to consider the actions of the individual offender within a broader social context. While every assaultive situation is distinguished by characteristics specific to individuals, the extent to which these characteristics are causal is problematic as every assaultive or violent situation involves a dynamic interplay of factors, not only between individuals, but also between individuals and temporally prior theories of offending are subcultural theories. These theories suggest that the actor belongs to a subculture that values violence and aggression. The acquisition of such values, however, has occurred temporally prior to the assault situation itself. Temporally removed theories that focus on the offender attempt to explain criminality (defined as the propensity to commit crime) rather than criminal opportunity (which incorporates a temporally proximate orientation).

Still other theories that address situated characteristics of participants focus on the victim of crime. Explanations for victimization have been found in personal characteristics of victims, "such as attractiveness, vulnerability and proneness" (Fattah, 1991: 256), to theories emphasizing lifestyles. The emphasis on characteristics of victims attempts to establish "propensity for victimization" as a situated characteristic.

Although situated explanations of assault may include reference to both persons and places, such explanations have tended to focus on characteristics of the person more so than the place. An exception to this is the theory of "hotspots" or "dangerous places" (Roncek and Maier, 1991). I begin by considering theories that emphasize situated characteristics of the offender, the victim and place.

Situating the Offender: Control Theory

Control theory focusses on socialization of the individual and the development of processes which bind individuals to the social order. Social bonding (i.e. Hirschi, 1969) is thought to prevent the commission of delinquent activities as it puts at risk the relationships of those to whom one is bonded. Those who abstain from committing various crimes are socially bonded to society. Delinquency, on the other hand, is caused by a weakening or breaking of the social bond. The weakening of the social bond means that fulfillment will be sought in ways that are least costly and therefore often criminal.

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situational and structural factors.

Because bonds are weak, bonds do not act as deterrents to delinquency and the unbonded individual is free to deviate. Control theories focus on the informal mechanisms (and dimensions of the social bond) that control the individual and prevent him or her from deviating.

Control theory is based upon a number of assumptions. The first is that human nature is inherently self-serving and hedonistic. The question for control theorists is not why we deviate, as we all have the propensity for deviation, but why do we conform? As Kornhauser (1978) notes, delinquency is an omnipresent vulnerability, and it is only through socialization and bonding that we are able to reduce this vulnerability. At the same time that humans are self-serving and hedonistic, they are also mutually interdependent. This interdependence influences social control by making delinquent behaviour risky. The risk of committing delinquent behaviour is assessed by the rationally calculating actor. Another assumption of control theory is that humans are essentially the same. This suggests that social structure does not play a significant role in the propensity to deviate, therefore outside forces (such as structural strain) do not put pressure on the individual to deviate. Control theory suggests that those who are rich or poor are equally likely to deviate or commit crime if socialized in the same way. As well, this similarity means that a common value system is assumed as is societal consensus with regard to that value system.

Hirschi (1969) proposed one of the earlier versions of control theory. In his analysis of adolescent delinquency, Hirschi proposed four mechanisms of the social bond. The first mechanism was attachment. Attachment is when we care about the opinions of others. Attachment incorporates the reciprical notion of caring (the individual cares for others and others care for the individual), as well as supervision (others' supervision of the individual). Hirschi (1969) noted that attachment to the family was most important in preventing delinquency. A second mechanism of the social bond is commitment. This refers to the individual's "stakes in conformity". The more a person has a stake in conformity, the more an individual has to lose by committing a deviant act. Commitment could be considered the rational element of the bond and implies a future orientation. Involvement is the third element of the bond, and is a consequence of commitment. Involvement of the individual in various activities ensures that the individual's time is spent on legitimate activities, thus ensuring little time for delinquency. The last mechanism of the social bond is the individual's belief or acceptance of the dominant value system of society. Should the individual not accept or believe in the dominant value system, the individual will have less concern for or hesitation with regard to violating that belief system.

Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) general theory of crime is a more recent variation of control theory. In contrast to earlier versions of control theory, and more recent "general" theories which limit their applicability to certain types of crimes only, Gottfredson and Hirschi's theory emphasizes a broadened definition of delinquency and crime. General theory proposes to explain a wide range of problematic behaviour including crime and delinquency, as well as other behaviours such as accidents and risk-taking. Gottfredson and Hirschi suggest that they have problematized the crime question, asking not what causes crime but rather, "what is crime?". These authors suggest that in order to explain crime, consideration must be given to characteristics of crime. Rather than viewing the crime and the criminal as distinct elements to be explained as they claim positivists have done, Gottfredson and Hirschi propose that they have turned to the classical school conception whereby the explanation of an act is combined with its conception of the nature of the act. Specifically, these authors note that the nature of criminal acts is fully predicted -- criminal acts tend to require little foresight, planning or effort; little time elapses between the thought and the deed (1990:12); and crimes will take place near the offender's usual location, meaning that time and space is highly circumscribed (1990:13). As the nature of their acts suggests, crime is committed by those who have low self-control.

General theory assumes that actors are hedonistic, self-interested and self-serving. Actors are assumed to be rational and capable of calculating the costs and benefits of their actions. Actors with low self-control, however, are vulnerable to their nature (self-interested), and are unable to control their impulses. Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) state that the existence of a certain behaviour is evidence of the benefits of that particular act (to the individual) outweighing its costs. Behaviour is influenced by its consequences but those with low self-control are unable to appropriately judge the consequences of their behaviour, nor are such actors able to accurately identify the costs and benefits of performing certain acts. Furthermore, general theory proposes that the propensity to commit crime is stable. Propensity to commit crime, or criminality, is a stable characteristic specific to each individual and is established early in life. Self-control (propensity to commit crime) is developed in the family and may be attributed to inadequate socialization or parenting.

A final variation of control theory is Thornberry's (1987) interactional theory. Thornberry states that his goal is to address the problems inherent in control theory. These goals include control theory's reliance on unidirectional rather than reciprical causal structures. Thornberry states that crime may be a cause of weakened social bonds as much as weakened social bonds are a cause of crime. Thornberry criticizes control theory for being non-developmental and failing to take age into account, recognizing that various socialization agents (such as the family) have more or less influence dependent upon the age of the individual. Thornberry's final criticism is that contemporary control theories tend to assume uniform causal effects throughout the social structure. Thornberry takes issue with the control theory assumption that individuals are essentially the same regardless of their social position. Thornberry maintains that behavioural trajectories are influenced by their initial values, which are likely influenced by social structure, and set the basic path of these trajectories.[6]

Interactional theory is premised on the assumption that human behaviour occurs in social interaction, and is not simply a product of the absence of interaction as control theory has suggested. Like Durkheim, Thornberry (1987) explains that the weakening of social constraints does not automatically lead to delinquency, but may lead to a wide array of behaviours. In contrast to traditional control theories which view delinquency and crime as the outcome (or dependent variable) of various processes, interactional theory assumes delinquency to be part of that process (hence the focus on reciprical influences). Therefore, attachment to parents, for example, is not immutable, but may depend on one's actions, with certain actions diminishing the attachment that parents have to their child and vice versa. A developmental process is also included in interactional theory, such that rather than suggesting that one model is appropriate for all ages of individuals, interactional models are specified dependent upon the age of the group to which they apply (for example, early adolescence specifies a greater impact of attachment to parents than is specified for later adolescence).

The utility of control theories to our understanding of the situated propensities of (assaultive) individuals is substantial. Control theories focus on socialization and the impact that prior socialization has on the (future) behaviours of the individual. Control theories focus on situated characteristics of the individual that are brought into any situation, criminal or non-criminal. Inadequate or weak social bonds free the individual to commit assault as these individuals are not controlled by the informal mechanisms of the social bond that prevent individuals from physically violating others. Control theory draws attention to a lack of self-restraint, thereby emphasizing issues of personal freedom. Similarly, those with low self-control are unable to foresee the results of their behaviours, making them more susceptible and more likely to act upon certain opportunities. However, control theory does not specify how or why inadequate socialization translates into the commission of assault in a specific situation, or what factors might "trigger" one to act in a deviant or criminal manner. Why would an individual with low self-control or inadequate bonds commit assault rather than take some other action? What impact might the situational context (consisting of persons and place) have -- are there certain immediate or foreground characteristics that an individual with low self-control interprets as being appropriate for violence? Situated theories of criminality cannot answer these questions.

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[6] Similarly, Laub and Sampson (1993) suggest that while certain characteristics remain stable throughout one's life (with trajectories set relatively early in life) an individual may also experience transitions such that an individual encounters life events that influence and often change the course of trajectories (Laub and Sampson, 1993: 610). Life events or transitions occur continuously throughout the life course, and are therefore an ever-present possibility influencing an individual's likelihood (or susceptibility) to committing crime.

Situating the Victim: Vulnerability Versus Proneness

The victimization surveys referred to in Chapter One indicate that there may be certain types or categories of people who are more vulnerable to criminal victimization than others. Specifically, the 1993 GSS indicated that those who are male[7]; urban dwellers; young (aged 15-24 years); and separated or divorced are those who report the highest levels of victimization. While these factors may be correlated with victimization, they do not tell us why or how it is that these particular characteristics come to be associated with victimization. Typically, these situated characteristics of victims are interpreted as indicators of lifestyles, with certain types of people more likely to lead lifestyles conducive to victimization (more on this below).

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[7] Between 1988 and 1993, the victimization rates for males dropped from 74 (per 1,000) to 68 (per 1,000). In contrast, female victimization rates increased over the same period, from 63 (per 1,000) in 1988, to 66 (per 1,000) in 1993. Despite the increase in female rates of victimization, females remain somewhat less vulnerable to victimization than males, 66 to 68 (per 1,000), respectively.

Mawby, however, suggests that vulnerability consists of three dimensions -- a risk dimension, a state of mind and an impact dimension (in Fattah, 1991: 262). The risk dimension is associated with lifestyles (and the correlates of victimization). The second dimension, state of mind, is generally assessed as fear or anxiety about the possibility of victimization. Janoff-Bulman and Frieze indicate that on a daily basis most of us operate on an "illusion of invulnerability" (1983: 4). In general, this refers to the common perception that we are more likely to experience positive outcomes versus negative outcomes. This illusion, however, can be "maladaptive if it keeps people from engaging in effective preventive behaviours" (Janoff-Bulman and Frieze, 1983: 4) -- victims may unwittingly put themselves at risk. Likewise, Sacco and Glackman emphasize how feelings of fear, anxiety and susceptibility to crime influence the way in which situations are defined and the subsequent impact that these feelings have on action (1987: 101). The illusion of invulnerability is developed independently of a particular situation, such that these situated predispositions may take precedence over situational (or proximate) cues.

As was also suggested earlier with reference to domestic assault (Chapter One), the perception (and reality) of females as victims is prevalent and predominant. Howard (1984: 276) found that females were judged more likely to be the victims of assault, and that the rape of a woman was perceived (by both males and females) as the most likely type of assault, in contrast to what statistics have shown. Howard attributes the perception of the rape of women as prevalent due to assumptions about female physical attributes and sexual propensities (1984: 278). Howard also found that "the more likely a particular assault was perceived to be, the more blame was attributed to the victim" (1984: 278). Howard speculates that "blame for an assault on a female is attributed to her character, while blame for an assault on a male is attributed to an external factor, such as the assailant, society or fate" (1984: 279). Women have therefore been type-cast as being the victims of certain types of crimes and not others. Smith (M.D.,1987: 292) notes that the emphasis on women as victims of domestic assault and rape have obscured women as being likely victims of other crimes, such as aggravated assault and robbery.

Using Goffman's notion of 'access' -- information that may be used to locate a person some time in the future -- Gardner (1988) examined the information women provide to strangers in public places. Gardner found that unlike men, who are more willing and less at risk providing access information, women perceived disclosure of access information to mean threatened or actual access to their persons (1988: 386). The difficulty that women face, however, is to somehow rectify appearances and expectations of femininity, such as openness and friendliness, with limitations on accessibility (Gardner, 1988: 386). The result of having to deal with this dilemma, Gardner argues, is that for women "the real self has no choice but to erect a barrier against others that embraces even quite basic information... the felt necessity to deceive rather than to communicate directly lack of interest in a man also perpetuates the "nice girl" as a social type and therefore imposes its own element of control" (1988: 294). The gendered nature of access information relates explicitly to personal freedom and personal integrity described earlier (Chapter One). The means by which males and females conduct and present themselves implies that transgression of and access to the symbolic and physical body is mediated by the sex of the victim (and likely the sex of the offender, as well).

The degree to which one maintains or has maintained an "illusion of invulnerability", influences Mawby's third dimension of vulnerability, the impact dimension.[8] The impact dimension, occurring after the assault or crime, is influenced by a victim's state of mind, or his or her "illusion of vulnerability" that exists independently of (and temporally prior to) the crime situation, as well as by the situational factors occurring temporally proximate to the specific situation.

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[8] The impact dimension of vulnerability is critical to understanding assault, as much of what we know about assault is deduced from the information that victims and witnesses provide *after* the crime has occurred. The victims' statement, for example, is temporally removed from the situation, yet necessarily incorporates the victim's assessment of his or her vulnerability. Much of the victimization literature deals with the impact of crime on the victim and recovery from this experience.

Lifestyles theory, discussed below, incorporates and elaborates upon the first dimension of vulnerability -- the risk dimension.

Lifestyles Theory of Victimization and Subcultural Theories of Offending

The basic premise of the lifestyles thesis of victimization is that those who lead particular lifestyles or engage in certain activities increase their vulnerability to criminal victimization. Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garafalo (1978) suggest that various lifestyles differentially expose potential victims to high-risk persons and places, such that potential victims become more accessible and visible to motivated offenders. Studies employing a lifestyle perspective have suggested that younger individuals put themselves at greater risk of both offending and victimization due to the lifestyles that young people lead (i.e. Lauritsen, Laub and Sampson, 1992). Specifically, young people spend more of their time in public places among nonfamily members. The resulting exposure lends itself to the possibility of engaging in activities and being found in circumstances more conducive to the commission of crime than older persons who might spend more of their time in private locations amongst intimates (i.e. Kennedy and Forde, 1990).

Hindelang et al (1978) initially considered demographic characteristics of victims as indicators of inequality, such that certain persons, by virtue of their social location, were at greater or lesser risk of victimization than individuals inhabiting other social locations. Differences in lifestyles were subsumed by various demographic characteristics, suggesting that demographic differences had the effect of differentially placing people in circumstances that made them more or less vulnerable to crime. Changes in lifestyle could therefore positively (or negatively) impact on risk of victimization. Lauritsen, Laub and Sampson indicate that "lifestyle theories assert that a person's risk of victimization can be predicted by the types of activities one routinely engages in without explicit consideration of the activities of offenders" (1992: 93). Kennedy and Forde sum up this perspective by suggesting that the lifestyles thesis is guided by a single proposition: "that those who follow risky routines will be more often subject to dangerous results" (1990: 208).

Criticisms of lifestyles theory have typically centred around the use of demographic indicators as proxy indicators of lifestyles (i.e. Miethe, Stafford and Long, 1987; Kennedy and Forde, 1990; Lauritsen, Laub and Sampson, 1992). More recently, efforts have been made to gather independent measures of lifestyles, such as "frequenting bars, going to work and being out of the house walking or driving around" (Kennedy and Forde, 1990: 208). Other research in the same tradition has emphasized the positive correlation between personal victimization and leading a deviant lifestyle (i.e. Lauritsen, Sampson and Laub, 1991). Establishing the practical differences between lifestyles of offenders versus victims would therefore appear to be of limited utility, as the same activities or lifestyles appear to place individuals equally at risk of offending or victimization. While the current trend is to focus on the lifestyles of victims, an older tradition that incorporates lifestyles as it applies to offenders is subcultural theory.

In their exposition of the subculture of violence, Wolfgang and Ferracutti (1967) argue that violence is learned through interaction with others who share similar values. Wolfgang's and Ferracutti's theory is based on a number of propositions. In particular, these authors maintain that no subculture can be totally different from or in conflict with the society of which it is a part (1967). As well, those who are part of the subculture need not demonstrate violence in all situations (although the counternorm is non-violence), but the potential or willingness to resort to violence suggests the diffuse nature of this cultural characteristic (1967). The subculture of violence is not limited to any particular age group. Favorable attitudes towards and the use of violence is developed in association with others. Finally, Wolfgang and Ferracutti propose that the use of violence in such subcultures is not necessarily viewed as illicit, therefore members demonstrating such behaviour need not feel guilty about their actions.

In developing their cultural theory of conflict, Luckenbill and Doyle (1989) have addressed one of the primary criticisms of (sub)cultural theories, namely, the confounding of culture with structure. Luckenbill and Doyle (1989) suggest that despite their differences, "these [cultural] theories generally propose that certain structural positions are characterized by high rates of violence because a significant proportion of their occupants subscribe to and act in terms of a culture that sanctions violence" (1989: 420). Individuals therefore commit acts of violence because of the structural position they occupy and its attendant cultural specifics. These authors suggest that according to cultural explanations, "the structural dimensions on which rates of violence vary are the dimensions on which association with a culture of violence varies" (1989: 424). Luckenbill and Doyle refer to "disputatiousness" as the willingness of some groups over others to perservere in the use of force to settle a dispute, with disputatiousness varying along a structural dimension (1989: 425). As Wolfgang and Ferracutti (1967) note, willingness to become violent is specific to certain situations over others. Luckenbill and Doyle suggest that situations which are more likely to be characterized by violence are situations involving individuals "who occupy positions featuring high rates of violence [who] would be more disputatious and aggressive than individuals who occupy other positions when a negative outcome involves an equal's attack on the self in a public setting than when it does not" (1989: 427). Similarity in structural location, cued by specific situational elements, therefore increases the likelihood of disputatiousness, and increases the likelihood of a negative (assaultive) outcome.

At the outset, placing lifestyles theory and subcultural theories together may appear somewhat puzzling. The common critique of these two orientations has been their over-reliance on demographic characteristics, or structural positioning, as indicators of either a particular lifestyle (for victims) or a particular subculture (for offenders). Considering these theories together, however, provides the researcher with the opportunity to examine the impact that similarities or differences in the characteristics of victims and offenders have on their subsequent (assaultive) interaction. Pairing these two theories also suggests how occupying similar structural positions reduces or enhances one's potential for victimization or offending. Cultural and lifestyles theories suggest that participants in assault situations conform to either cultural norms or participate in certain lifestyles that were established prior to the assault situation. Lifestyle and cultural theories of assault do not, however, provide answers as to why only certain individuals inhabiting these various positions or leading particular lifestyles are subject to or commit violence, nor do they consider characteristics of the immediate situation that influence assaultive behaviour.

Situating Place: Kinds of Locations

The rationale behind looking at the situated characteristics of persons and places is to identify characteristics that, as Goffman explains, exist independently of and prior to a specific situation. In effect, situated characteristics of persons and place provide a general background against which the proximate activity or situation is foregounded. An extensive sociological tradition has examined physical spaces against the broader context of public and private realms, and how the meaning of such places influences behaviours and expectations of behaviour within these contexts (i.e. Mead, 1939; Blumer, 1969; Goffman, 1982). The identification of these places as private or public is situated, such that actors categorize specific places as private or public prior to involvement in a particular situation. Lofland defines the public realm as "those nonprivate sectors or areas of urban settlements in which individuals in copresence tend to be personally unknown or only categorically known to one another" (1989: 454). Similarly, Riedel notes that categoric identification of persons may be intimately tied to ecological settings, with spatial location also serving the purpose of avoiding or preventing encounters with unfamiliar others (1993: 93). The public realm tends to be associated with formal control and the private realm with informal control. As Lofland (1989: 457) points out, however, the dichotomy of public and private is more accurately conceptualized as a continuum. Sacco and Kennedy (1996), for example, suggest that there are four primary domains in which criminal events occur: family and household, work, leisure, and street. Along this continuum between private and public, informal and formal controls combine in various ways. Lofland observes, however, that "definitions and evaluations of [public and private] are not necessarily shared" (1989: 457).

Criminology initially took up the challenge of identifying various physical spaces as criminogenic or noncriminogenic with researchers such as Thrasher (1936) and Shaw and McKay (1969) graphically plotting both the locations of crime and the locations of criminals' residences.[9] As Lee (1968: 241) notes, initial considerations of physical geography as indicative of something more proved futile, as physical geography often failed to correspond to human behaviour. Lee (1968) therefore considers not just ecological (i.e. physical) constraints, but the notion of a "socio-spatial" schema, which attempts to join the physical, social and spatial dimensions of neighbourhoods. Lee suggests that differences in physical composition are related to corresponding differences in social behaviour, such that people behave in particular ways depending on the meaning that certain spaces have for them (1968: 252). Lee (1968: 264) concludes that relatively little is gained by demarcating spaces into separate units because each individual has a distinctive orientation to physical spaces.

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[9] A related tradition is the "ecological study of delinquency" (i.e. Boggs, 1965; Gordon, 1967; Polk, 1967; Stark, 1987), which considers macro-indices associated with specific areas, such as migration rates, fertility rates, and economic indicators, as structural-level determinants of crime focussing on kinds of places, rather than kinds of people.

The impact that physical settings have for criminal activity has more recently been researched with regard to taverns and public spaces. Roncek (1981) found that areas characterized by greater degrees of anonymity, versus places that are potentially more familiar, are characterized by higher levels of criminal activity. Roncek notes differences between crime types, with environmental influences being more significant for property crime than for violent crime (1981: 90). Roncek explains this finding due to the element of spontaneity that characterizes violent crime, as well as the importance of interpersonal ties in violent crime (1981: 90). The importance of interpersonal ties (relationship) suggests that more familiar (and therefore less anonymous) areas may be more conducive to violent crime than less familiar places.

Felson (1987) considered the link between crime and informal and formal social controls, with certain areas characterized by greater or lesser degrees of both types of control. Felson analyzed facilities, which he defines as semi-public places that combine comfort, convenience and safety, while attempting to limit the negativity of urban life, such as crime, garbage and extraneous traffic (1987: 918). Felson notes that the facility has a direct advantage over the street in that it limits access and directs the flow of people (1987: 926), while removing certain routine activities from the public flow of activity. Felson argues that crime control strategies have moved from the community, to street, to facility, each engendering various levels of informal and formal control. Roncek and Pravatiner (1989) considered the effects of formal versus informal control in their analysis of taverns. These authors suggest that taverns are "hot spots" for crime because they "generally do much of their business in the evening and at night when streets might otherwise be relatively empty and possibly unsafe" (1989: 185). Roncek and Pravatiner found that bars most conducive to crime were those located in areas proximate to the central business core, akin to Burgess' "zone of transition", which is characterized by a lack of informal control (1989: 187). As well, altercations that begin in the bar are often "taken outside" where formal controls, such as bouncers and bartenders, are that much further reduced (Hope, 1985, in Roncek and Maier 1991). Roncek and Maier (1991) note that not only do bar patrons lack informal controls, often being out of site of their "intimate handlers", such as spouses and other family members, but the activities engaged in in taverns, i.e. drinking, may serve to weaken internal social controls.

Summary

Control theories, vulnerability, lifestyle and subcultural theories each consider characteristics of the offender or victim which are suggestive of propensities or characteristics that exist temporally prior to, and independently of, the specific assault situation. Similarly, theories of place suggest that certain environments may be more or less amenable to assaultive activity. Each of the above theories draws attention to various situated characteristics that may impact upon the assaultive outcome. While the nature of my data prohibits testing these theories, these explanations of assault suggest and identify various situated elements, or correlates, of assault to which I attend in the forthcoming descriptive analyses in Chapter Four.

Establishing the situated characteristics of participants and place is critical to securing the precursors of the assault event. An examination of the situated correlates of assault alone, however, provides only a partial context in which the assaultive transaction unfolds. Below I consider various theoretical explanations that draw attention to situational correlates, and to the foreground (immediate) context of assaultive behaviour.

Situational Explanations: Temporal Immediacy

As per Goffman's distinctions, situational or temporally proximate theories of violent behaviour are oriented toward the immediate characteristics of persons involved in assault or toward immediate characteristics of place. The situated/situational distinction parallels the criminality/opportunity distinction (however expanding to incorporate characteristics of the victim and other participants). Unlike categoric (situated) identification, individual (situational) identification demarcates traits and characteristics of persons and place that are specific to a particular situation. Alcohol (or drug) use is a situationally-specific characteristic (although the person might have a drinking problem, rendering this particular characteristic situated as well). Goffman's use of individual identification incorporates elements such as tone of voice, eye contact and physical gestures, as well as physical characteristics such as height and weight. While the significance of height or weight cannot be analyzed in situated terms, these characteristics are relevant within the realm of the situational, in terms of interacting others, within a specific situation.

Situational, or temporally proximate, characteristics of place are conveniently organized under the auspices of routine activities theory. Sherman, Gartin and Buerger (1989) describe routine activities theory as integrating several bodies of criminological literature, such as that dealing with offender motivation, opportunities, lifestyles, target-hardening and policing. Immediate characteristics of place are therefore a central component of routine activities theory,[10] with specific places facilitating the convergence of motivated offenders and likely victims.

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[10] Having said this, routine activities theory also implicitly relies on 'categoric' identification of places as discussed above with reference to situated places.

Below, I first briefly consider the role of alcohol and drugs as a situational characteristic of persons. I then turn to routine activities as means of discussing the immediate situational characteristics of place (such as third parties, and time of assault).

Situational Characteristics of Persons: Alcohol/Drugs

A factor that has been perceived as both mitigating and aggravating criminal activity is intoxication. As Aramburu and Leigh note, "intoxication might make the situation either better or worse for the drinker, depending on the type of act committed and the drinker's status as aggressor or victim" (1991: 31). Wolfgang suggests that the presence of alcohol might lower inhibitions, causing the individual to "give vent more freely to pent up frustrations, tensions, and emotional conflicts that have either built up over a prolonged period of time or that arise within an immediate emotional crisis" (1957: 8), the result of which is increased aggression. Again, Felson and Steadman (1983: 66) note that victims received more harmful consequences if they had been drinking, but did not find a correlation between victim aggression and victim intoxication. Lauritsen, Laub and Sampson (1992: 98) found alcohol and marijuana use to be associated with increased risk of assault victimization among adolescents. Aramburu and Leigh (1991) note that drunken victims are generally believed to be more responsible for an assault than are offenders. These authors suggest that the attribution of increased responsibility to a drunk victim may rest on the "just world hypothesis", or the notion that intoxicated victims are somehow deserving of their negative experiences. Block's (1974) study of assault victims' decisions to notify or report the incident to police substantiates this hypothesis. Block found that police were less likely to be notified by the victim of an assault if only the victim had been drinking, than if both offender and victim had been drinking, or if only the offender had been drinking (1974: 562). Block suggests that decreased willingness to report such incidents is due to victims' perceptions of their own implication in the assault.

In their meta-analysis of the effects of alcohol consumption on violent behaviour, Cohen et al (1994: 51) conclude that the present research base upon which to accurately judge such effects is insufficient. These authors note that experimental studies that have dealt with the relationship of alcohol and violent behaviour have such contrived circumstances as to make the generalizability of their findings questionable at best. Survey studies, on the other hand, deal more directly with real world behaviour, but employ few controls, such that determining the effect of alcohol consumption on behaviour cannot be adequately separated from other confounding variables. Finally, longitudinal studies that might have dealt with alcohol consumption and violent behaviour rarely address causal issues and vary too greatly in their design to determine consistent patterns (Cohen et al, 1994: 51). Regardless of the disparate theoretical linkages purported between alcohol use and crime, or the methodological variability with which this correlate is examined, alcohol use remains one of the strongest correlates of criminal behaviour.

Situational Characteristics of Places: Routine Activities Theory

Routine activities theory states that the probability of crime varies by time, space and social setting. The lifestyles and routines of people's everyday lives place them in social settings with higher or lower probabilities of criminal involvement. Routine activities theory as originally proposed by Cohen and Felson (1979) did not differentiate between the types of crimes that it predicts, suggesting instead that the theory applies to predatory crime, including both property and personal crimes.

Cohen and Felson (1979) explain that rather than looking at the characteristics of offenders, their goal was to consider the characteristics of criminal opportunities. Cohen and Felson suggest that a crime would be unlikely to take place unless three elements converged in time and space: a motivated offender, a suitable target and the absence of capable guardians. These authors utilized various components of ecological theory to explain the latter two components. Specifically, Cohen and Felson considered rhythm (regular periodicity of events), tempo (number of events per unit of time) and timing (the coordination of various activities throughout the day) (1979: 590). The temporal organization of daily events, or routine activities, as it relates to the commission of illegal acts is such that houses are left empty during the day, for example, while certain persons are more likely to be out late at night than others. Variations in the daily activities and lifestyles of individuals therefore either reduce or enhance the probability of a crime being committed. Cohen and Felson state that they assume criminal motivation (1979: 589) and assume also that the offender is a rational actor, capable of calculating the vulnerability of targets and the suitability of guardianship. The authors suggest that a lack of any one of these three elements will be enough to prevent the successful completion of a predatory criminal act. In a subsequent article, Cohen, Cantor and Kluegal (1981) specify that the convergence of these three elements is necessary, but it may not be a sufficient condition of victimization.

Subsequent tests of routine activities theory have suggested that the theory may be more appropriate for property crime than for violent crime (i.e. Roncek, 1981; Miethe, Stafford and Long, 1987), due to the element of spontaneity often characterizing violent crimes. Later tests of routine activities theory, however, suggested that a closer examination of the lifestyles aspect of routine activities was warranted (Miethe et al, 1987; Kennedy and Forde, 1990). Miethe et al (1987) suggest, for example, that greater theoretical attention needs to be devoted to the relative weight and importance of the three components of the theory. These authors ask why it is that risk of victimization for some groups is stable across activity levels, whereas risk increases for other groups

(1987: 194). Miethe et al (1987) also question the assumption of offender motivation and rational calculation by the offender noting the increase in the number of attacks on strangers.

While routine activities theory incorporates varying degrees of abstraction by suggesting that routine activity patterns (or role-structured behaviours) impact on both offender motivation and target liability, this theory also incorporates a temporally proximate orientation in the element of guardianship. Although guardianship is influenced by structure, guardianship also includes immediate physical characteristics of situations that may influence the commission of crime, such as the presence or absence of third parties. Guardianship will also be influenced by the time of day in which the assault occurs.

Third Parties

Research on the impact of third parties has dealt with situations in which the audience is known to the victim or to the offender (i.e. Luckenbill 1977; Felson, Ribner and Siegel, 1984) or not known to the parties involved (i.e. Davis, 1991). There are a variety of roles that bystanders may play in an assaultive situation, ranging from mediator to peacekeeper to law enforcer (in the case of legal authorities), to partisan supporters seeking to advance the cause of one particular side over another (Cooney, 1993: 5). Baumgartner (1988) notes that supporters to a conflict generally increase the likelihood that the conflict will turn violent. Cooney (1993) suggests that there are a number of reasons why the presence of third party supporters may increase the use of and likelihood of violence. Drawing on anthropological literature, Cooney suggests that the capacity to inflict violence increases as the numbers of people involved in an altercation increases (1993: 5). The involvement of third parties in a conflict increases the number of points of disagreement (1993: 5), and rather than the conflict remaining between the initial two parties, the involvement of others increases the set of animosities by the inclusion of other parties. Conflict may be also more likely to turn violent with greater numbers of people involved because groups tend to have longer collective memories than individuals, with grievances from the past more likely to be brought into current situations (Cooney, 1993: 6). Conflicts may turn violent with the involvement of third parties by the initial party attempting to "save face" (i.e. Luckenbill 1977), as well as by the fact that "people often appear to be more reckless when acting in groups than alone" (Cooney, 1993: 6).

Felson, Ribner and Siegle (1984) examined the relationship between third parties and age. These authors found that the major participants in conflict situations were more likely to become violent if their significant others were supportive of aggressive behaviour (1984: 457). The role that third parties play is significantly related to the age of the third party, with older third parties more likely to act as mediators. In line with the criminal event framework, Felson et al conclude that their results suggest that it "may be a mistake to view criminal violence as a function of either the behaviour of a single individual or even the interaction of the victim and offender" (1984: 460). These authors note that behaviour assumed to be the result of an uncontrollable outburst is often greatly influenced by the presence of third parties.

White (1991) examined the influence of third parties by considering informal social control and stranger intervention into child punishment in public places. White explains that stranger intervention in public punishment not only expands the initial conflict into a triadic arrangement, but stranger involvement also raises the "issue of how rights and responsibilities are to be distributed" (1991: 229). Stranger intervention into public punishment radically transforms a "private trouble" and establishes the initial conflict as deviant. White notes that "an important factor in the social transformation of private troubles is whether the third party approaches interpersonal troubles as conflict or deviance, symmetrically with respect to the former and asymmetrically in the latter"

(1991: 229). Whether a situation involving personal trouble is approached as one of conflict or deviance is dependent upon the perceived relationship of the initial parties, as well as the relationship of the third party to the initial parties. White suggests that the interpretation of a situation, specifically child punishment, is tempered by the normative structure characterizing public places. Public places are generally characterized by fleeting, however symbolic, encounters amongst strangers. Strangers tend to offer each other some measure of privacy in public, through strategies such as civil inattention and civility toward diversity (Lofland, 1989).

Unlike the informal control exerted by strangers in public places, police play the role of formal control in assault situations. Unlike other bystanders, however, the police are less likely to actually witness an altercation, but tend to arrive on the scene after blows have already been struck. A study by Smith (D.A.,1987) found that there are various styles of control exerted by the police when situations of interpersonal violence are encountered. Styles of control include arrest, mediation or separation of disputing parties. The use of arrest as a style of mediation was based upon assessments of blame and legal culpability. Arrest implies a clearly defined victim and offender (Smith, D.A., 1987: 768). Employing mediation as a style of control depended upon the relationship of the disputing parties. Conflicts amongst those who had an established social relationship were mediated in the hopes of restoring an ideal harmonious situation. Separation as a means of formally controlling conflict was used to avoid involvement, by failing to attribute legal blame to either of the disputing parties, but also failing to restore social order (Smith, D.A., 1987: 769).

Time of Assault

The situational element of time of day is important as it locates social action directly, serving the purpose of connecting a specific assault situation into a temporal orientation that society more generally observes. The time of an assault includes the time of day and time of week (as well as time of year, to a lesser extent). Pokorny (1965) found that both assaults and aggravated assaults occurred most frequently between the hours of 5:00 p.m. and 2:00 a.m. The type of interaction that begins after 5 p.m. is characterized by less formal control and more informal or leisure activities, in comparison to the working hours during morning to late afternoon. As well, Pokorny (1965) notes that assaults tend to occur most often on weekends, with Saturdays marking the peak number of assaults per week. Again, weekends are characterized by increased leisure activities, as well as increased opportunities for drinking. The implications of leisure activities were investigated by White, Katz and Scarborough (1992) who found that the frequency of admissions to hospital emergency rooms increased for women after a local football team won, and increased for men when the local football team lost. Rotton and Frey (1985) observed violent crimes to occur more frequently on warm than on cool days, noting that summer is characterized by more assaults. These authors suggest that warm days are characterized by more drinking behaviour, but warn that when considering factors such as seasonality and weather conditions as they relate to assaultive behaviour, one must be alert to the possibility of committing the ecological fallacy.

Summary

The above examination suggests that certain temporally proximate characteristics of situations influence the probability that an assault will occur. Immediate characteristics associated with participants in assault, such as alcohol use, may increase the likelihood of offending or being victimized. Immediate characteristics of place, such as the presence or absence of third parties, as well as time of day also influence criminal activity. Again, while my ability to test theory is limited, routine activities theory draws attention to correlates of assaultive activity associated with the immediate situation. Routine activities theory provides a means of identifying elements of the immediate context, or the foreground, that may be correlated with assaultive outcome.

Conclusion

As was determined in Chapter One, assault is an embodied phenomenon: at its most basic, assault includes some form of interaction between a minimum of two people in each other's physical presence in a particular location. To understand what occurs between interacting parties, requires that we consider situated characteristics associated with the two parties being in each others physical presence in the first place. Likewise, characteristics of the immediate situation may be more or less associated with the unfolding interaction between the two parties. While the data which I subsequently describe cannot adequately test these theories, the foregoing theoretical overview is essential in contextualizing various criminological theories within an event perspective. This discussion suggests the utility of theoretical integration in attempting to explain the assault event, as theories tend to be more or less applicable to a certain part (or parts) of the assault event. My examination of the criminological theories that focus on and explain (situated and situational) aspects of the assault event provides a means of identifying relevant situated and situational correlates to be subsequently explored.

The analysis to follow (Chapter Four) therefore considers situated characteristics of offenders, victims and place. I then turn to situational characteristics, primarily concentrating on elements of place that characterize the immediate situation. My analysis highlights the ways in which these characteristics combine to condition various assaultive interactions. First, however, I discuss the method employed to secure the data for this analysis (Chapter Three).

Chapter Three: Methodology

Conceptualizing assault as a process or event suggests a certain ontological and epistemological stance regarding what will suffice as knowledge and, even more narrowly, what will suffice as "data". The nature of my data allows me to incorporate both a quantitative (objectivist) and qualitative (subjectivist) enquiry into my analysis of the assault event. Both objectivism[1] and subjectivism[2] deal with the relationship of, and the interface between, theory and research. As well, both objectivism and subjectivism "assign significance to empirical phenomena, but they differ on what phenomena should be attended to, how one is to approach phenomena, and how the phenomena are to be analyzed" (Couch, 1987: 106). The key difference between the two positions is that objectivism promotes an ontology which maintains that a reality exists independently of our experiences of it and that this reality is measurable. The subjectivist position, on the other hand, embraces the notion that the world consists of transformations and variation, thus emphasis is placed on process (Couch, 1987: 106). Despite these apparent differences, quantitative and qualitative approaches to theory and research are most usefully considered as complementary rather than as oppositional, with each position serving a different however equally important ontological task.

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[1] For objectivists, there exists a clear distinction between theory and its validation in the empirical world, and thus a clear distinction between the measurable world and the researcher. For Descartes, the senses were deemed untrustworthy and impeded understanding by failing to provide objective information of what the external world is really like apart from our sensations of it. Because the senses could not be trusted, knowledge would be facilitated by measurement and quantification. An assumption of objectivism is that the world exists in a steady state and is constant, thus we see the emphasis on logico-deductive reasoning whereby hypotheses are formulated and tested, emphasizing the generation of universal laws.

[2] For subjectivists, there is no reality existing independently of our experiences of it. Rather than emphasizing statistical *prediction* as explanation, thereby considering only measurable parts of phenomenon, the subjectivist position emphasizes *understanding* the entire phenomenon.

My examination of the assault event is therefore composed of two types of analyses. The first is a quantitative/objectivist analysis[3], consisting of an examination of the situated and situational characteristics of persons and places involved in assault. Descriptive data of these characteristics is presented in Chapter Four. The analysis that follows (Chapter Five) is a qualitative/subjectivist analysis[4] of assault. In Chapter Five I consider the interpersonal (intersubjective) dimension of assault as elucidated primarily through witness narratives. The orientations of the two positions suggest that because each starts in a different place (the objectivist position in theory and the subjectivist position in experience), results of each analysis can be compared to the results of the other thus offering a more complete, however ontologically differentiated, examination of assault.[5] What this enables me to do is highlight specific characteristics of persons and places involved in assault, at the same time creating a more generalizable framework applicable to the assault process regardless of the specific or unique characteristics of the participants or circumstances within a particular situation.

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[3] The logico-deductive theoretical orientation maintained by the objectivist position is such that theory dictates what is to be measured. Theories suggest various concepts, which are in turn operationalized, or measured. The objectivist position highlights, and in fact only considers, parts of social phenomenon that are measurable, or can be made measurable. The entirety of the assault situation is therefore not included in an objectivist analysis. The objectivist position highlights not only quantifiable aspects of social phenomenon, but also stresses that adequate numbers of cases must be included to demonstrate the integrity of the measurement and the relevance of the findings. Statistically analyzing the data obtained through these measurement strategies either lends supports to the theory being tested or, conversely, fails to support the theory. Certain variables (and therefore theoretical concepts) are then determined as being of greater or lesser significance in explaining assaultive behaviour depending upon the statistical results.

[4] The subjectivist position maintains that elements of phenomenon cannot be evaluated alone, but can only be assessed in relation to the whole - parts of which might not have been measured at all, let alone found to be significant. The emphasis from the subjectivist position is on hermeneutics and on rectifying the difficulties facing the objectivist position in abstracting parts of a text (elements of assault, in this case) from the whole, at the same time countering the objectivist claim that focussing on parts of a phenomenon ensures explanation of the entire phenomenon. In contrast to the objectivist position which is grounded in theory, the subjectivist position is grounded in experience, such that the meaning of assault can only be understood in terms of the lived experiences of those involved. Rather than theory dictating which parts of an assault are significant, the subjectivist position instead maintains that *experience* dictates significance.

[5] While it is tempting to suggest that the results of one analysis could be used to either validate or discredit the results of the other, this assumes that both positions would have to agree that there is *one* reality, with one position being more suited to grasping that reality than the other. Rather than engage in a debate about which view provides the more accurate or valid interpretation of assault, the goal here is to present the two views in order to gain the broadest possible picture(s) of assault.

The remainder of this chapter elaborates the means by which the data for these analyses has been secured, and also highlights the correlates to be examined for the first (quantitative) analyses (Chapter Four).

Data Source

The primary source of data for this study is police files. Police files contain demographic information about the suspect, complainant and witnesses of each assault occurrence. Each file also contains a summary of the incident itself, typically focussing on aspects of the assault relevant to legally defining the incident as such, including a descriptioh of injuries obtained by various parties as well as indications as to the intentions and motivations of various parties. Summaries of the police investigations of the incident are included in each file, which detail the investigator's observations of the scene and dealings with the various parties involved, including direct participants, indirect observers and emergency medical or hospital personnel. Depending upon the nature of the incident, and the willingness of participants to cooperate with police, the files also include witness statements, usually written by the participant him or herself[6], thereby creating narratives of the assault event from the perspective of that particular participant. This type of information is unique to this data source. Police files also typically provide information as to the context in which the assault occurs, summarizing the events that may have led up to the use (or threat) of physical force by one or more parties, as well as details of police involvement following the assault. Police files are the most complete set of data available, and provide a rich source of data, offering detail not otherwise possible.

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[6] Some statements could not, for a variety of reasons, be written by the witness him or herself and therefore were transcribed by the investigating officer.

Unlike other quantifiable data sources, police files contain information regarding all participants involved and are not limited to information about or the perspective of one participant.

It is important also, however, to recognize the limitations associated with officially recorded policing data. The lists of officially recorded assaults from which the samples are drawn (described below) are lists that have passed through a screening process involving both citizens and police. Typically, citizens (who may be directly or indirectly involved) make decisions as to whether or not to report a crime to the police based upon the seriousness with which they percieve a situation. Percieved seriousness also influences policing decisions to record crime, along with other factors such as the nature of the evidence, the preferences of the victim and the professionalism of the police department (with more professional departments more likely to record crimes) (Gove, Hughes and Geerkin, 1985: 474). In their comparison of crime as determined by victimization studies and the UCR, Gove et al (1985) suggest that information associated with officially recorded aggravated assaults may be more accurate than the information provided about serious assaults in victimization studies because of a general unwillingness to report incidents involving familiars, or to report only non-serious assaults involving familiars. Thus while the data used in this study are screened by both citizens and police, I would suggest that the overall picture of assault obtained through the use of this data is certainly no less accurate than that obtained via self-report studies. In fact, as Gove et al (1985) argue, information associated with offically recorded incidents of serious assault may be even more valid, and thus more generalizable, than the information obtained from self-reported serious assaults found in victimization studies.

As much as a researcher tries to limit the "noise" or potential inaccuracies surrounding data collection, few methods are error-free. As mentioned above and in Chapter One, police information is not neutral and the information contained within the files necessarily incorporates a police-legal perspective -- with information contained therein that which the police have defined as most pertinent to police work, as well as to the laying and supporting of criminal charges. Because police data is collected for police-legal reasons, not all concerns identified in the criminological literature can be addressed. Theory testing is therefore constrained to some extent by the data. As well, the characteristics of the population from which the samples are drawn may impact upon the generalizability of the data.

Similarly, witness statements contained in police files are written for the police, typically at the request of the police. One can easily imagine that recounting a particular incident for the police may differ significantly from recounting that same incident for a close friend. Details as to the circumstances surrounding the request for, writing of and acquisition of these statements is rarely provided, yet this information provides a useful context in which to assess the narratives produced. Another potential problem associated with the data has to do with differences in thoroughness found between the files. While individual officers would be expected to differ in their respective policing skills, the information contained within files is also influenced by the willingness of the participants to cooperate with police, as well as by the nature of the assault itself. I noted substantial variation between investigations, with some files including only a minimum of information, while others (especially those of a more serious nature) included much greater detail resulting in a better overall understanding of the assault.

Sample

The assault cases selected for inclusion in this study took place in the city of Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, a city of approximately 600 000, during the calendar year 1993. The Edmonton Police Service codes all occurrences that come to their attention into their respective crime categories. For assault, the codes are aggravated assault (level three assault), assault causing bodily harm (level two assault) and common assault (level one assault). Lists of 1993 occurrences by level of assault were generated by the police department. In 1993, there were 173 aggravated assault occurrences, 1207 level two assaults (assault with or without a weapon, causing bodily harm) and 4215 common assault occurrences. Due to the limited number of aggravated (level three) assault occurrences, all 173 were included in this examination. From the assault level one (common assault) occurrences, 300 cases were randomly selected for inclusion in the study. From the assault level two occurrences (with a weapon), 250 cases were randomly selected for inclusion, while all 49 assault level two occurrences without a weapon were included. The final sample size for the study was 745.[7]

Coding Instrument

The initial procedure of developing a coding instrument consisted of reading a selection of assault files to determine the type of data believed to be consistently available in each assault file. A coding instrument was eventually generated that divided information into respective participant vantage points. Every file contained various numbers of participants -- some with more than one offender and/or more than one victim; others with either none or numerous witnesses. Coding forms were generated for each participant, with the amount of information collected on each case varying by the number of participants involved.[8] Information was collected for the accused/suspect (Appendix Three), the complainant (Appendix Four), and witness (Appendix Five).

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[7] Although the sample size was expected to be 771, this number was reduced due to some cases on the master (population) lists being miscoded (either the files were not assaults, or they did not actually occur in 1993), other files were missing from the shelves, while other files were classified as confidential and were not available for examination.

[8] The initial research design specified that all selected cases would be coded in the above manner. Due to time constraints, approximately half (345) of these cases were coded in this manner. For the remaining cases, detail was limited to demographic characteristics of the offender and victim only and to limited spatial characteristics, with only selected statements transcribed. For each case, however, a summary paragraph was produced providing an overview of the transaction.

Limitations were set, such that a maximum of three offenders were coded per file, a maximum of three victims, and a maximum of three witnesses. These limits were set primarily by the desire to produce a rectangular data set for purposes of analysis. Information was also collected for each incident detailing specifics of the assault occurrence (Appendix Two).

The reader will note that the respective data collected for the accused, complainant and witness is characterized by increasingly less information, with most information available about the offender. This is primarily a function of the data source, with the police being significantly more concerned with the offender in an assault situation than with any of the other parties involved. While witnesses are characterized by the least information, they provided many of the narratives.

Narratives

Before collecting categoric information, I typically read through each file in its entirety in order to gather as much information about the assault as possible, prior to writing a brief summary/narrative of the assault occurrence. The police usually start their investigations after the assault has occurred, and therefore must work back in time to piece together the chronological ordering of events. My perspective provided some advantage because much of the piecing together had already occurred, both by the witnesses and by the police. Unlike the police officer who was in the position of adding information to the file as the investigation proceeded, much like finding and adding pieces to a puzzle one by one, I typically accessed the file after all the pieces were there -- at least all that were likely to be provided during the course of the police investigation.

Witness statements were transcribed verbatim with spelling and grammatical errors left intact. Such statements provide a unique perspective, as statements are the words of those who were (usually) physically present during the assault (and who, typically, directly witnessed the occurrence). Witness statements provide narrative accounts of the assault occurrence, and attention was paid to the context that the witness provided for the assault. In their accounts, witnesses typically provide background information as to why the event transpired, or the conditions that appear to have played a role in the assault situation. Participant narratives provide insight into the assault event as it develops over time. Not only do narratives provide detail about the processual nature of assault, but writers tend to differ in what they choose as the salient features of the assault occurrence from their own unique perspectives.

Correlates of Assaultive Behaviour

As outlined in the previous chapter, a number of theories explain various situated and situational aspects of the assault event. Each of these theories suggests testable relationships. The data under consideration in this study, however, do not lend themselves to theory testing. Instead, the utility of examining these theories for this study is to draw attention to various situated and situational elements of assault which focus on the offender, the victim and place. Situated and situational elements are essentially correlates of assaultive behaviour.

Turning first to the offender, later developments in control theory suggest that one's social location may have an impact on subsequent activity. I therefore examine various indicators of social location, such as age, sex and race in order to determine how it is that these factors relate to assaultive behaviour. While I do not have adequate measures of social bonds, I consider offenders' criminal records in some detail in order to determine how criminal record relates to assaultive behaviour.

Victimization theories also suggest that certain demographic characteristics of victims are associated with criminal victimization. In terms of social location, I consider the sex, age and race of victims as they relate to the various levels of assaultive behaviour. I also consider victims' criminal records not only to see how this variable relates to level of assault, but also as a means of comparing offenders with victims. Subcultural and lifestyles theories suggest that victims and offenders inhabit similar locations thereby providing rationale for comparing victims and offenders who inhabit similar social locations. Thus, I consider how same age, same sex, same race and same criminal record relate to assaultive activity. I also examine how social relationship between victim and offender relates to assaultive behaviour.

Situated theories of place suggest that certain physical locations will be correlated with assaultive activity. Physical locations differ in the degree to which they are characterized by informal and formal control, as well as the degree to which they are perceived as public or private. I therefore consider how it is that types of places are associated with assaultive behaviour.

In terms of situational characteristics of offenders, victims and place, routine activities theory suggests a number of correlates of assaultive behaviour. While alcohol consumption is an important factor suggestive of both motivated offenders and vulnerable victims, data on this variable was not consistently available and is therefore excluded. Guardianship, the third component of routine activities theory, does however suggest a number of situational characteristics of place which may be correlated with assaultive behaviour. Time of day, day of week and the number of direct witnesses may be associated with assaultive activity, and will be considered in the following analysis.

Conclusion

This chapter presents the means by which the data has been collected and an overview of the correlates to be examined in the quantitative analysis to follow. The forthcoming analyses will identify how it is that specific situated and situational characteristics of persons and place relate to assaultive outcome. Although I have framed assault as a processual event, identifying specific characteristics is, by it's very nature, similar to placing snapshots of situated and situational elements in a particular chronological ordering. As Taussig notes, the juxtaposing of various temporal dimensions amounts to "jump cut[ting] and splic[ing] space and time, abutting context with context" (1990: 217). This analysis can therefore only describe, at best, moments or instants of behaviour and not the process or the fluidity which behaviour, by definition, entails. At the same time, however, this portion of the analysis allows for "freeze-framing" the assault event in order to highlight what it is that appears influential in effecting the assaultive outcome -- something not possible when the assault event is "in motion".

I now proceed to a description of the situated and situational elements characterizing the assault event.

Chapter Four: Situated and Situational Characteristics of Assault

This chapter provides a descriptive analysis of both the situated and situational characteristics associated with persons and places as these characteristics relate to assault severity.[1] In order to stress the co-authored nature of the assault event, this description will highlight the variability of assaultive interactions based upon the situated and situational characteristics of various victim-offender combinations. While descriptions of offenders and victims provide a great deal of information, an analysis of either the offender or the victim alone fails to provide much information beyond generic description. What is of greater sociological interest, and that which is basic to a conceptualization of assault as an event involving temporal, spatial and interpersonal dimensions, are the ways in which assault events may differ depending upon the combined characteristics of particular individuals in particular situations.

The first part of this chapter stresses situated characteristics of persons and places and differences in assaultive outcome based upon these characteristics. I start with demographic information regarding offenders and victims in order to locate/situate participants into a wider social context. A description of victim/offender social relationships, then situated characteristics of place, follows. The analysis then turns to a description of the situational characteristics of persons and places involved in assaultive events.

Situating Participants: Demographic Description of Offenders and Victims

The present analysis includes 745 separate assault incidents. While the majority of cases consist of one offender and one victim, a number of multiple victim/multiple offender incidents are also included. The total sample is comprised of 869 offenders and 840 victims. Characteristics of offenders are first described, followed by a description of victim characteristics.

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[1] Assault severity refers to common assault, assault causing bodily harm (level two) and aggravated assault.

The average age of offenders is 27.8 years, with little variability in the average ages of offenders across the levels of assault. The vast majority of offenders are male, comprising 80.4% of the total offender population. An inverse relationship exists between the proportions of male offenders and assault severity, with male involvement increasing as assault severity decreases. Males account for nearly 77% of aggravated assault offenders, 81% of level two offenders and over 82% of common assault offenders. In contrast, the proportions of female offenders increase with assault severity: nearly 20% of aggravated assault offenders are female, compared to 16.5% of common assault offenders. Females are less likely than males to be involved in aggravated assaults, yet the proportion of female offenders is higher for aggravated than for common assault. Sex is not known for 2.5% of the offenders. Reasons for the sex of offender not being known include the victim being attacked from behind (and either rendered unconscious or covering his or her face from further blows preventing identification of the offender), or the complainant being attacked by a group and therefore unable to identify specific individuals. As well, the offender's sex may be unknown due to victims' refusal to divulge any information whatsoever about the assault to the police.[2] (Table 4.1 summarizes the situated characteristics of offenders.)

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[2] Often such cases only come to the attention of the police through emergency medical or hospital staff who alert the police of the situation.

Table 4.1: Situated Characteristics of Offenders

OFFENDERS (N=869)	**ALL ASSAULTS (N=869)**	**AGGRAV. ASSAULT (N=211)**	**ASSAULT BOD. HARM (N=331)**	**COMMON ASSAULT (N=327)**
MEAN AGE (years)[3]	27.8	28.6	26.3	28.8
SEX				
Male (N=699)	80.4%	76.8%	81.0%	82.3%
Female (N=148)	17.0%	19.9%	15.7%	16.5%
Not known (N=22)	2.5%	3.3%	3.3%	1.2%
RACE				
Caucasian (N=448)	51.6%	41.2%	48.3%	61.5%
Aboriginal (N=233)	26.8%	38.9%	27.5%	18.3%
Other (N=126)	14.5%	14.7%	16.3%	12.5%
Not known (N=62)	7.1%	5.2%	7.9%	7.6%

The majority of assault offenders are caucasian[4], nearly 52%. The next largest group is aboriginals[5], nearly 27%, which includes native indian, metis and inuit. The "other" category, which includes all remaining racial groups[6], comprises a much lower 14.5% of all offenders. While the involvement of "other" racial categories remains relatively constant over the various levels of assault, at about 13-16%, the involvement of caucasians and aboriginals varies dramatically by assault severity. For aggravated assault, 41% of offenders are caucasian, while aboriginals comprise nearly 39%. This proportion of native involvement is striking considering that aboriginals comprise less than 5% of the population of Edmonton. The proportions of caucasians and aboriginals sharply diverge in the remaining assault levels. There is approximately a 10% decrease in the proportions of native offenders as assault severity decreases from aggravated to common assault. The opposite is true for caucasian involvement. While caucasians comprise 41% of aggravated assault offenders, they account for nearly 62% of common assault offenders. The proportion of aboriginal offenders involved in common assault is less than half of their aggravated assault proportion, with aboriginals comprising just over 18% of common assault offenders. I suspect that while aboriginal involvement in common assault may be more frequent than reported here, it appears that many aboriginal assaults came to the attention of police through reports originating from various emergency medical services. As well, anecdotal information found in the files associated with native involvement suggests that many of these assaults were characterized by participant alcohol use, thereby potentially increasing victim injury and the overall severity of the assault.[7]

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[3] The figures for average age are calculated using N=195 for aggravated assault, N=308 for assault causing bodily harm, and N=305 for common assault. Age is therefore not known for 61 of 869 offenders.

[4] "Caucasian" and "white" will be used interchangeably throughout this discussion.

[5] "Aboriginal" and "native" will be used interchangeably throughout this discussion.

[6] This category includes black (N=35); east indian (N=13); asian (N=41); hispanic (N=14); middle east (N=18); and other non-white (N=5) offenders.

There was little difference in the average ages of male and female offenders, with males averaging 28 years, and females 27.2 years. White offenders were approximately the same age, 28.3 years, as native offenders, 27.7 years, while the "other" racial group averaged 26.5 years. For both the caucasian and "other" racial groups, female offenders are approximately two years younger than their male counterparts. White females are an average of 26.7 years, compared to white males averaging 28.6 years, while "other" females are an average of 24.9, compared with their male counterparts at 26.6 years.[8] Little difference was noted between the average age of native female offenders (28.1 years) compared with native male offenders (27.6 years). Females account for 15% of the white offender group and 7% of the "other" offenders.[9] In contrast, females total nearly 27% of the native offender group.

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[7] While there was too much missing information to carefully analyze alcohol consumption for either offenders or victims, my observations did suggest greater indications of alcohol involvement for natives than for any of the other racial categories.

[8] Interpretation must proceed with caution as the "other" female offender category contains only nine cases.

[9] See Table 4.A in Appendix Seven for further information.

Turning to victims of assaultive behaviour (Table 4.2), the average age is essentially the same as for offenders (28.1 years for victims and 27.8 years for offenders). The average age of victims of aggravated assault is approximately 2.5 years older (30.2 years) than the average ages of victims of less serious forms of assault (approximately 27.5 years of age).

Table 4.2: Situated Characteristics of Victims

VICTIMS (N=840)	**ALL ASSAULTS (N=840)**	**AGGRAV. ASSAULT (N=192)**	**ASSAULT BOD. HARM (N=329)**	**COMMON ASSAULT (N=319)**
MEAN AGE (years)	28.1	30.2	27.3	27.6
SEX				
Male (N=477)	56.8%	72.4%	58.1%	46.1%
Female (N=363)	43.2%	27.6%	41.9%	53.9%
RACE				
Caucasian (N=462)	55.0%	47.4%	55.9%	58.6%
Aboriginal (N=171)	20.4%	26.6%	20.7%	16.3%
Other (N=91)	10.8%	16.1%	10.6%	7.8%
Not known (N=116)	13.8%	9.9%	12.8%	17.2%

Unlike the distinct predominance of males as offenders in every level of assault, the proportion of male victims varies substantially with type of assaultive encounter. As assault severity increases, so too does the proportion of male victims. Nearly three-quarters of aggravated assault victims are male (72.4%), compared to less than half of common assault victims being male (46.1%). The opposite relationship exists for females, with decreasing assault severity associated with an increasing proportion of female victims. Females comprise nearly 54% of common assault victims, and 27.6% of aggravated assault victims. More females (nearly 54%) than males (46%) are the victims of common assault.

Similar to the racial composition of offenders, the majority of victims are also caucasian (55%). Again, as with the offenders, the racial composition varies depending upon assault severity.. An inverse relationship exists between the proportion of white victims and assault severity, with caucasians accounting for 47.4% of aggravated assault victims, and nearly 59% of common assault victims. In contrast, aboriginal proportions of victims are positively associated with assault severity. Natives comprise nearly 27% of aggravated assault victims, and 16% of common assault victims. A similarly inverse relationship is noted for the "other" racial category[10], with 16% of aggravated assault victims being "other", compared to 8% of common assault victims. The proportion of victims' race "not known" is relatively large - 14%. The reason for this is that police tend to provide the most complete information for offenders rather than victims. As can be noted from the proportions of victims' race "not known" among the various levels of assault severity, the tendency is for the most complete information (for both offenders and victims) to be gathered for more serious assaults, thus the proportions of "not known" race decrease with increasing assault severity.

Again, as with the offenders, there is relatively little age difference between male victims and their female counterparts, with males averaging 28.4 years and females averaging 27.8 years. Unlike the offenders, native victims are slightly older, 30.1 years, than white victims, 28.1 years, and "other" victims, 29.3 years. White female victims are two years younger on average than white male victims, and native female victims are approximately 1.5 years younger than native male victims. "Other" female victims, however, are nearly 3 years older than "other" male victims. The proportions of female victims involved in assault is much greater than the proportions of female offenders, but their proportions vary greatly by race. Females account for 36% of caucasian victims,

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[10] This category includes black (N=20); east indian (N=12); asian (N=29); hispanic (N=10); middle eastern (N=7); and other non-white (N=13) victims.

44% of "other" victims, and 62% of aboriginal victims.[11] Compared to other females, native females are anomalous in constituting greater proportions of both offenders and victims.

Indicators of social location are more meaningful when various combinations of offender and victim characteristics are considered. The analysis at this point refers exclusively to incidents involving one offender and one victim only, of which there were 585 cases, and therefore 585 victims and 585 offenders. In order to compare the relative ages of victims to offenders, age was divided into five categories: 17 years and younger, 18 to 25 years, 26 to 35 years, 36 to 45 years, and 46 years and older.[12] For the three youngest age categories, victims tended to be assaulted by those within their same-age categories (see Figure 4.1).[13] For example, for victims aged 18 to 25 years, so too are the majority of their offenders also aged 18 to 25 years old. Victims in the eldest two age categories, however, are more likely to be assaulted by offenders aged 26-35 than they are by their similar-age peers. This pattern does not vary substantially by assault severity.

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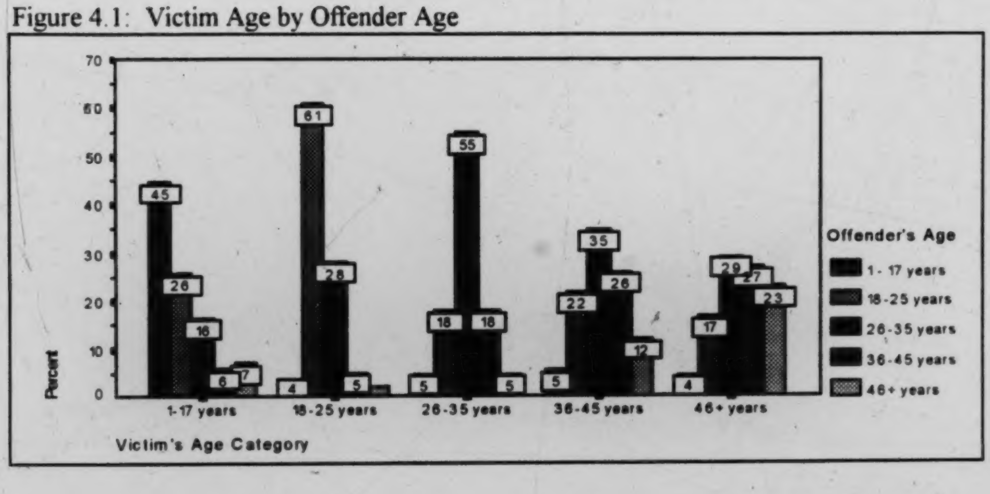
[11] See Table 4.B in Appendix Seven for further information.

[12] My rationale for dividing the categories is based upon: 1) grouping those who might be considered "young offenders" into a distinct category (17 years and under); 2) demographic divisions found within the literature; and 3) capturing the ages characterized by the greatest criminal activity - typically young adulthood.

[13] Forty-five percent of victims aged 1-17 are assaulted by offenders aged 1-17; 61% of victims aged 18-25 are assaulted by offenders aged 18-25; and 55% of victims aged 26-35 are assaulted by offenders aged 26-35.

Figure 4.1: Victim Age by Offender Age



The racial combinations of victims and offenders suggest that, predominantly, victims are assaulted by those within their same racial group (see Figure 4.2). White victims are assaulted by white offenders 74% of the time, by aboriginal offenders 16% of the time and by other racial groups 10% of the time. Similarly, the proportion of aboriginal victims assaulted by other aboriginals is 68%, by whites, 27%, and by "other" races, 5%. The proportion of the "other" racial category victimized by "other" races is 66%, by whites 23% and by aboriginals 11%. This pattern varies somewhat by level of assault. White victims were assaulted by white offenders 67% of the time for aggravated assaults, 70% for level two assaults, and 79% of the time for common assault, suggesting an increasing likelihood that whites will be victimized by other whites as assault severity decreases.[14] The opposite pattern holds for aboriginals. The proportion of native complainants victimized by native offenders was 72% for aggravated assault, 69% for level two assault, and 63% for common assault. No clear pattern emerges for "other" victims of assault. "Others" were victimized by "other" offenders 55% of the time for aggravated assault, 77% for assault level two and 61% for common assault.

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[14] See Table 4.C in Appendix Seven for further information.

Figure 4.2: Victim Race by Offender Race

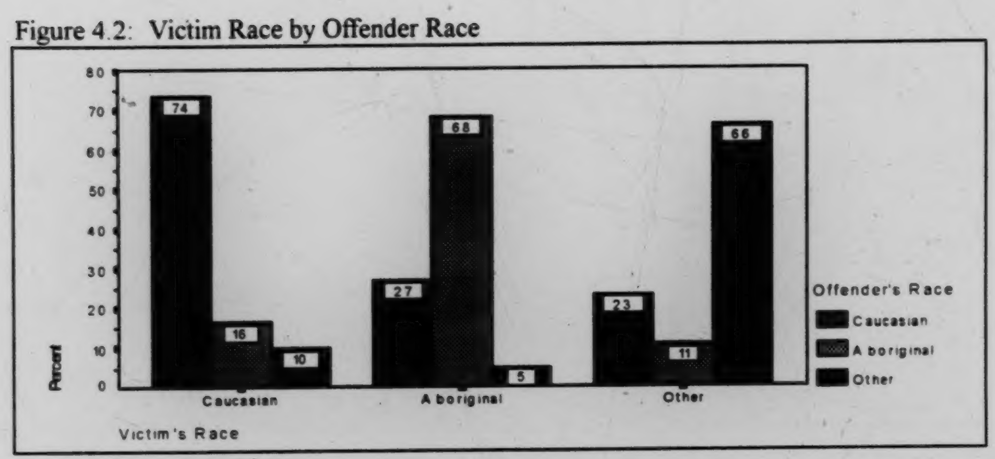

Figure 4.3 emphasizes the finding that males tend to be the primary victimizers of both males and females. The proportion of males victimized by other males is 85%, while the proportion of females victimized by males is 81%. There is some variation in these proportions across the levels of assault, with 82% of male complainants assaulted by other males in aggravated assaults, 85% in level two assaults, while 88% of male victims of common assault are assaulted by other males.[15] As assault severity decreases, the proportion of males victimized by other males increases. The opposite pattern exists for female victims and female offenders. Twenty-four percent of female victims are assaulted by other females in aggravated assaults, 20% in level two assaults, and 18% in common assaults.

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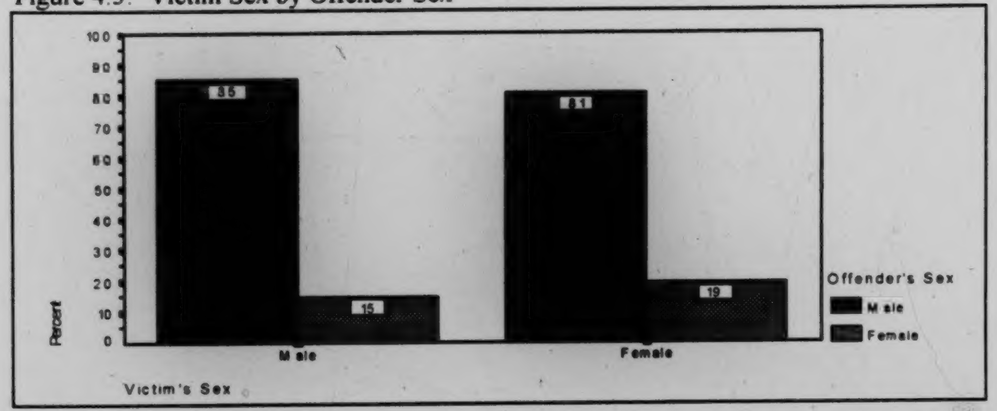
[15] See Table 4.D in Appendix Seven for further information.

Figure 4.3: Victim Sex by Offender Sex



Situating Participants: Victim-Offender Relationship

Social relationship is a primary means of locating participants in assault within a wider social context. Knowing the way(s) in which offenders and victims relate to each other provides some indication as to the expectations each participant has of the other. Social relationship is a key characteristic by which to consider the assault event, as it simultaneously incorporates each of the temporal, spatial and interpersonal dimensions. Even when strangers come into our physical presence for the first time, our expectations are mediated by our past experiences with strangers (and with familiars), thereby transgressing the boundaries of the present situation. This is what Goffman (1982) referred to as our ability to "categorically" identify strangers, despite never actually meeting them. Similarly, relationship spatially locates persons such that their inhabiting particular social spaces is accompanied by certain expectations. For example, the relationships between family members suggests a different realm of obligations and rights than does a relationship between friends. Our expectations of friends are in turn much different than are our expectations of strangers. Relationships are also part of the interpersonal dimension, as interpretations of activities and behaviour are based upon the specific interactions one has or has had with another.

For the purposes of this section, I will again be analyzing only cases that include one offender and one victim in order to delimit the number and kinds of relationships found within a particular event.[16] Relationships were initially coded into sixteen categories in order to capture as much variability as possible. These categories have been collapsed into five larger categories. The first category, intimate or lover, includes husbands, wives, cohabiters, boy- or girl-friends, as well as ex-spouses or ex-cohabiters. The second category includes other immediate familial relationships including relationships between siblings, between parents and children, or between other immediate family members. The extended family and friends category also includes room-mates. The casual acquaintance category also includes business associates. The final category is strangers, which includes encounters between individuals previously unknown to each other. Table 4.3 summarizes the relationships of offenders to victims.[17]

Table 4.3: Offender-Victim Relationship

Offender-Victim Relationship (N=585)	**ALL ASSAULTS** (N=585)	**AGGRAV. ASSAULT** (N=120)	**ASSAULT BOD. HARM** (N=208)	**COMMON ASSAULT** (N=257)
Intimate/Lover (N=170)	29.3%	19.2%	27.9%	34.6%
Other Immed. Fam. (N=60)	10.2%	7.5%	12.0%	10.1%
Ext. Family/Friends (N=47)	8.6%	11.7%	6.7%	7.4%
Casual Acquaintance (N=120)	20.4%	20.0%	22.6%	19.1%
Stranger (N=148)	25.2%	25.8%	24.5%	25.7%
Not known (N=40)	6.8%	15.8%	6.3%	3.1%

The majority of offenders are, or have been, in intimate relationships with their victims, comprising over 29% of offender-victim relationships. The next largest category consists of strangers, with over 25% of offenders having not previously known their victims. One-fifth of offender-victim relationships are casual acquaintances, with 10% being other immediate familial relationships. Only 9% of assaults occur between parties within an extended family/friend relationship. Offender-victim relationships vary with assault severity. Over 25% of aggravated assaults are perpetrated by strangers. Just over 19% of aggravated assaults are perpetrated by intimates. The figures for aggravated assault are somewhat conservative due to the large number of aggravated assaults for which the relationship between offender and victim is not known (nearly 16% of aggravated assault cases). As mentioned earlier with regard to missing information about the identities of offenders, often the level of injury to the victim of aggravated assault is of such severity that s/he can not remember who the offender is, or if s/he can, the victim is not willing to divulge any information regarding his or her assailant's identity. One might expect that (un)willingness to divulge information about offenders would be directly related to the severity of the assault for fear of negative repercussions potentially associated with identifying one's assailant. The proportion of unknown relationships declines for level two assault, 6.3%, and common assault, 3.1%.

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[16] Incidents involving two offenders and two victims, for example, actually contain 6 relationships (including those between offenders and those between victims) thus significantly increasing the complexity of the analysis.

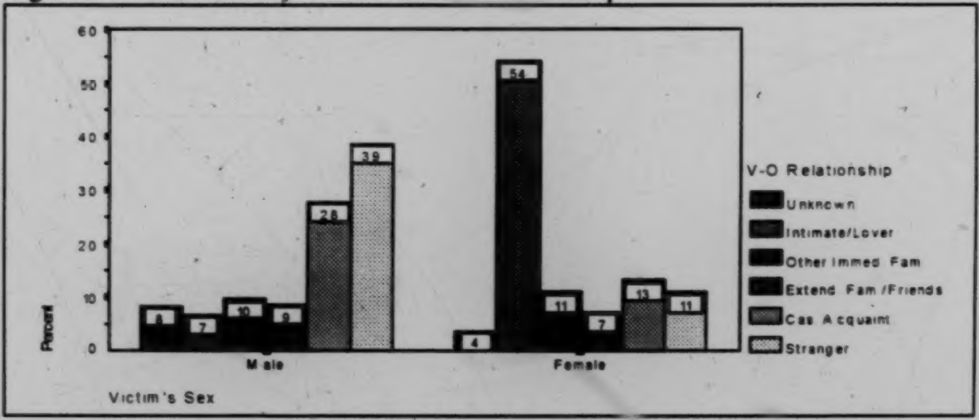
[17] With the inclusion of only single offender-single victim incidents, the relationships of victims-to-offenders does not vary from the offender-victim relationships presented above.

In level two assaults, intimates comprise the largest proportion of offender-victim relationships, at nearly 28%. Stranger relationships make up the next largest proportion at 25%. The proportion of intimate relationships increases again for common assault. Here, intimates comprise nearly 35% of relationships between offenders and victims. The proportion of stranger relationships does not change dramatically from either of the other assault levels, remaining at just under 26% of the common assault relationships. Clearly, the likelihood of intimate assault decreases with increasing assault severity.

Having determined that both intimate and stranger relationships are problematic for victims of assault, a further story is told once the sex of the victim is controlled (see Figure 4.4). Over 54% of female victims are victimized by intimates, compared to 11%

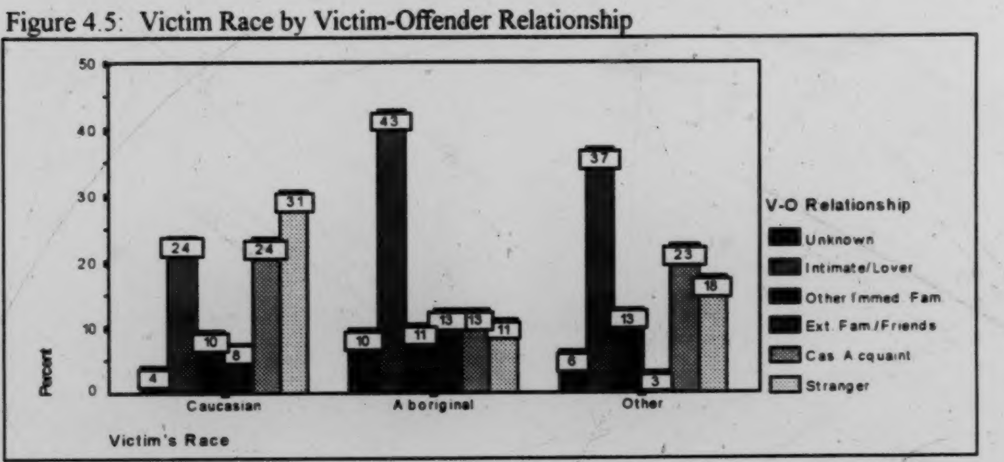
of females victimized by strangers. Male victims are involved in intimate relationships with offenders only 7% of the time, but 39% of male victims are assaulted by strangers. In effect, the majority of female victims are assaulted by those who are least socially distanced from them, with intimates and immediate family members accounting for 66% of assaults against females. This compares to 18% of males assaulted by intimates or immediate family members. On the other hand, male victims are assaulted by casual acquaintances or strangers 67% of the time, while under 24% of female victims are assaulted by these same groups. These relationships vary little across the three levels of assault.

Figure 4.4: Victim Sex by Victim-Offender Relationship



Race also plays a role in the complainant's relationship to the offender (Figure 4.5). White victims are most likely to be assaulted by strangers, with nearly 31% of white victims being strangers to their assailants, compared to 11% of native and 18% of "other" victims. On the other hand, native complainants are most likely to be victimized by intimates, 43%, in comparison to 24% of white and 37% of "other" complainants. Regardless of their race, female victims are most likely to be attacked by intimates, however, non-white females, including both aboriginal and others, appear to be at greater risk of harm from intimates than are white females (53% of white females are attacked by intimates, compared to 66% of aboriginal and 70% of "other" females).[18]

Figure 4.5: Victim Race by Victim-Offender Relationship



Predictably, the relationship of the victim to the offender is associated with the age of the victim.[19] For example, complainants who are under 18 years of age are not victimized by intimates (7.7%), as much as they are by other immediate family members (26.4%), such as parents and siblings. Likewise, because many young people in this category may be going to school, they are more likely to be victimized by casual acquaintances (39.6%), such as school mates, than by strangers (18.7%). Victims in the remaining age categories reflect the previously noted pattern that complainants tend primarily to be victimized by intimates or strangers.

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[18] See Table 4.E in Appendix Seven for further information.
[19] See Table 4.F in Appendix Seven for further information.

Summary

The data suggest that social location is correlated in various ways with assaultive outcome. Younger offenders were no more likely to be involved in more severe assaults than older offenders. Victims of aggravated assault, however, were, on average, older than the victims of common assault. The vast majority of offenders (80.5%) are male. At the same time the proportion of male offenders decreases somewhat as assault severity increases, yet remains substantially higher than female offender proportions. Although females are substantially less likely to be involved as offenders at every level of assault, their respective proportions increase as assault severity increases. Likewise, the proportions of male and female victims varies with assault severity. As assault severity increases, so too does the proportion of male victims. As assault severity decreases, the proportion of female victims increases. At every level of assault, there are far greater proportions of females as victims than as offenders.

The majority of offenders and victims are caucasian. The proportions of native offenders increases as assault severity increases, yet these proportions remain less than the proportion of white offenders at each level. The same relationship is apparent for victims. As assault severity increases, the proportion of white victims decreases. Native females constitute a unique group in that they appear in larger proportions as both offenders and victims than either white or "other" females. This finding suggests that native females inhabit a social location that is marginalized from mainstream society in terms of both sex and race. This "double-marginalization" is evidenced in their greater proportions as both offender and victim.

Matching offender and victim in terms of social location produced mixed results. It was found that, for the most part, victims are assaulted by those of similar ages. Age-matching appears to have little impact on assault severity, but race and sex-matches are correlated with assault severity. While the majority of males are victimized by other males, so too are the majority of females victimized by males. As assault severity increases, however, the proportion of male-male victim-offender combinations decreases. The opposite holds for females. While those of each particular race were found to be most victimized by others of the same race, this finding is qualified by the level of assault. White-white victim-offender combinations are associated with decreasing assault severity, but native-native combinations are associated with increasing assault severity. The effect of similar social location of persons involved in assault is therefore mediated both by the specific characteristics under consideration and by the level of assault to which one is referring.

In terms of social relationship, many complainants are victimized by intimates (29%), with the next largest category being strangers (25%). Although the proportions of stranger relationships remain fairly constant over the three levels of assault, as assault severity decreases, the proportions of intimate relationships increase. The impact of social relationship is conditioned by the sex of the victim, as the majority of females are victimized by intimates, but the majority of males are victimized by strangers. White victims are more likely to be assaulted by strangers, whereas natives are much more likely to be assaulted by intimates. Again, it appears that involvement in assault, and severity of that assaultive encounter, is either mitigated or aggravated by the social location one inhabits relative to his or her co-participant.

Situating Participants: Criminal Record

Criminal records alone are not necessarily indicative of criminal involvement or police dealings. The type of crime in which one is involved determines the likelihood of being caught, let alone convicted, of a particular crime. As well, the presence or absence of a criminal record may also speak more to the skill of one's lawyers than to guilt or innocence. Despite these short-comings, criminal records and the details contained therein are relevant to an examination of assault, as these details form part of the situated context of assaultive behaviour, certainly as that context is interpreted by the police who ultimately decide whether an activity is to be labelled as criminal or not. For this description, I include the full sample of offenders (N=869) and the full sample of victims (N=840).

Table 4.4: Criminal Record: Offenders

OFFENDERS (N=869)	**ALL ASSAULTS (N=869)**	**AGGRAV. ASSAULT (N=211)**	**ASSAULT BOD. HARM (N=331)**	**COMMON ASSAULT (N=327)**
Criminal Record:				
Yes (N=487):	56.0%	63.0%	55.0%	52.6%
No (N=242):	27.8%	18.5%	28.7%	33.0%
Not known (N=140):	16.1%	18.5%	16.3%	14.4%
Total:	869	211	331	327
Previous Assault Convictions:[20]				
Yes (N=249):	51.9%	60.0%	49.7%	49.0%
No (N=231):	48.1%	40.0%	50.3%	51.0%
Total:	480	130	179	171
Average Age at First Conviction:	19.6yrs	18.8 yrs	19.5 yrs	20.2 yrs
Stand. Dev.:	5.8 yrs	3.9 yrs	5.9 yrs	6.7 yrs
Average # Convictions:	11.6	13.3	12.6	9.2
Stand. Dev.:	12.6	14.2	12.9	10.6
Crime Types (x/15)				
Mean:	3.5	3.9	3.7	3.1
Stand. Dev.:	2.0	2.1	2.1	1.8

Table 4.4 summarizes the findings for offenders. Clearly the vast majority of offenders have had previous dealings with the law resulting in conviction: 56% of offenders have criminal records.[21] The proportions of persons who have criminal

records varies by the severity of assault. Sixty-three percent of aggravated assault offenders have criminal records, in comparison to nearly 53% of common assault offenders. The remainder of Table 4.4 considers only the 487 offenders who have criminal records.

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[20] Although police noted 487 offenders with records, the specifics contained within the records could not be determined for 7 offenders.

[21] Excluding offenders for whom criminal record is not known, of those whose criminal record is

Assault does not appear to be a foreign activity for many offenders. It was found that nearly 52% of offenders (with criminal records) had previously been convicted of an assault offense. The proportions of those with past assaultive involvement increases with assault severity, with 60% of aggravated assault offenders characterized by prior assault convictions, compared to nearly 50% of level two and common assault offenders having such previous convictions.

The average age at which offenders were first convicted is 19.6 years and varies with assault severity. Offenders involved in aggravated assaults appear to have started their criminal activity earlier, or were at least caught and convicted for their criminal activities earlier, than offenders involved in the less serious forms of assault. Aggravated assault offenders were first convicted at an average age of 18.8 years, compared to 19.6 years and 20.2 years for level two and common assault offenders, respectively.

The average number of convictions was calculated, with all offenders averaging 11.6 convictions on their criminal records. Offenders involved in aggravated assaults averaged a higher 13.3 convictions, level two offenders, 12.6 convictions, and common assault offenders, 9.2 convictions. The standard deviations about the means for each level of assault suggest a wide range of scores on this particular variable. In fact, the number of convictions ranged from 1 to 77.

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known, nearly 67% do indeed have criminal records. The 140 unknowns are influenced by persons who remain unidentified as well as by persons who were noted as having criminal records, but when further investigated these records were found not to be on file. In other cases, a closer examination of the information in the police files and the information on CPIC determined that the identifying characteristics did not satisfactorily match, therefore criminal record was coded as not known.

To get a sense of the types of crimes for which offenders have been convicted, the number of crime types individuals were involved in was calculated out of a possible fifteen crime categories.[22] For each category, convictions were noted simply as being either present or absent.[23] The number of crime types therefore ranges from 1 through 15. For all offenders, the average number of crime types participated in (and resulting in conviction) was 3.5. It appears that higher average number of crime types is associated with involvement in the more serious assaults. Aggravated assault offenders averaged 3.7 crime types, level two offenders 3.6 and common assault offenders 3.1.

The proportions of offenders who have criminal records varies by sex. A significantly greater proportion of male offenders, 69%, have criminal records than female offenders, 56.7%. While larger proportions of males have criminal records than females at each level of assault, only for level two assault do these proportions significantly differ.[24] The proportions of offenders who have criminal records also varies by age of offender. As one might expect, simply due to younger participants having lived fewer years in which to commit crime, the group with the lowest proportion of criminal records are those aged 17 and under, with 28% having criminal records. The proportions increase thereafter, with 69% of offenders aged 18-25 years characterized by criminal records, 79% of offenders aged 26-35 years, 73% of offenders aged 36-45 years, and nearly 63% of offenders 46 years and older.[25]

Race plays a major role in the proportions of offenders with criminal records. Nearly 65% of caucasian offenders have criminal records, compared to 86% of native offenders and 45% of "other" offenders. For whites, the proportions of offenders with criminal records declines with assault severity, from 76.5% for aggravated assault to 58% for common assault. The opposite appears to be the case with "other" offenders: 44% of "other" offenders involved in aggravated assault and 54% of "other" offenders involved in common assault have records. While the greatest proportion of native offenders with criminal records is for aggravated assault, at nearly 91%, 83% of assault level two and nearly 86% of common assault native offenders also have records.[26]

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[22] The fifteen crime categories included: murder or manslaughter, sexual assault, robbery, break and enter, theft, abduction and assault, fraud, weapon-related, morality, sexual offences, drugs, other criminal code charges, liquor-related, traffic-related, and non-criminal code charges (i.e. Child Welfare Act, Immigration Act, etc.).

[23] If a criminal record indicated 10 theft convictions, then criminal versatility would be 1, because all 10 convictions fit into one crime category.

[24] See Table 4.G in Appendix Seven for further information.

[25] See Table 4.H in Appendix Seven for further information.

Previous assault convictions vary by race and age - so too does average number of convictions, offenders' age at first conviction, and crime-type participation. Significantly more native than white or "other" offenders had previous assault convictions, over 68%, compared to 45% of whites and 29% of "other" offenders.[27] As one might expect, ever-increasing proportions of offenders have been previously convicted of assault as their relative age categories increase. Whereas 44% of those aged 17 and under have previous assault convictions, nearly 67% of those aged 46 years and older have previous assault convictions.[28]

The average number of convictions[29] for male offenders with criminal records was 12.5, compared to 6.7 for females. Again, natives are found to have significantly more convictions than their white and "other" counterparts, with native offenders averaging 14.9 convictions and whites averaging 10.7 convictions. "Other" offenders had less than half the average convictions of whites, with "others" averaging 4.5 convictions. Again, the average number of convictions increases with increasing age, ranging from an average of 5 convictions for those 17 years and younger, to over sixteen for those aged 45 years and older.[30]

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[26] See Table 4.I in Appendix Seven for further information.
[27] See Table 4.J in Appendix Seven for further information.
[28] See Table 4.K in Appendix Seven for further information.
[29] Mean significance tests were performed for average number of convictions and each of sex, race and age. All differences were found to be significant at least the .05 level.

Turning to age at first conviction, natives were convicted of their first offense somewhat younger, at 18.6 years of age, compared to 19.7 years for whites and 22.4 years for "others".[31] The age at first conviction varies with age category, with offenders 17 years and under first convicted at an average of 14 years, compared with those aged 46 and older at an average of 29.2 years.[32]

As might be expected by their greater average number of convictions, males were found to have participated in a greater number of crime types relative to females (3.7 for males, compared to 2.7 for females). Likewise, natives were found to have participated in more crime types (4.1), than whites (3.4) or "others" (2.2). For the most part, the older the offender, the more crime types he or she has participated in. However, offenders aged 36-45 years were found to have participated in the most crime types at 4.1.[33]

Turning now to victims (Table 4.5), just over 40% of victims have criminal records, compared to 67% of their offender counterparts. Again, the proportion of victims with criminal records varies by assault severity: 54% of aggravated assault victims have criminal records in comparison to 32% of common assault victims. A similar pattern is noted for previous assault convictions. While 38% of victims (with criminal records) have assault convictions, making these victims offenders in previous assault events, 51% of aggravated assault victims were previously convicted of assault.

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[30] Those aged 18-25 average 8.3 convictions, those aged 26-35 average 12.7 convictions, those 36-45 years average 16.4 years and those 46 years and older, average 16.1 convictions.

[31] Mean significance tests suggested that average age at first conviction varied significantly (at the .05 level) for race and age categories.

[32] Those aged 18-25 were first convicted at an average of 17.5 years of age, those aged 26-35 at an average of 19.3, and those aged 36-45 years, at an average of 22.8 years.

[33] Offenders aged 17 and under had participated in 2.3 crime types, those aged 18-25 in 2.9 crime types, those aged 26-35 in 3.9 crime types and those 45 and over in 2.1 crime types.

Half as many common assault victims (24%) as aggravated assault victims (51%) had previous assault convictions.

Table 4.5: Criminal Record: Victims

VICTIMS (N=840)	**ALL ASSAULTS (N=840)**	**AGGRAV. ASSAULT (N=192)**	**ASSAULT BOD. HARM (N=329)**	**COMMON ASSAULT (N=319)**
Criminal Record:				
Yes (N=339):	40.4%	54.2%	40.1%	32.3%
No (N=482):	57.4%	44.3%	57.4%	65.2%
Not known (N=19):	2.3%	1.6%	2.4%	2.5%
Total:	840	192	329	319
Previous Assault Convictions:				
Yes (N=130):	38.2%	51.0%	39.4%	24.0%
No (N=210):	61.8%	49.0%	60.6%	76.0%
Total:	340	104[34]	132	104
Age at First Conviction:				
Mean:	22.0 yrs	21.2 yrs	21.6 yrs	23.2 yrs
Stand. Dev.:	7.4 yrs	7.4 yrs	6.9 yrs	7.9 yrs
Average # Convictions:	9.9	13.4	9.5	6.9
Stand. Dev.:	13.2	16.5	12.2	9.5
Crime Types (x/15)				
Mean:	3.0	3.6	3.0	2.5
Stand. Dev.:	2.0	2.3	2.0	1.6

Victims tended to be older than their offender counterparts at their average age of first conviction. Victims averaged 22 years, while offenders averaged 19.6 years at their first conviction. As with offenders, an inverse relationship exists between assault severity and average age at first conviction for victims. Victims involved in aggravated assault tend to be younger (21.2 years) than those involved in common assaults (23.2 years). A striking contrast exists between the average number of convictions and assault severity. While all victims with criminal records possessed an average of nearly 10 convictions, victims involved in aggravated assault averaged 13.4 convictions, comparable to aggravated assault offenders (at 13.3), while victims of common assault averaged 7 convictions. Again, as with offenders, the large standard deviations about the means suggest that victims were characterized by widely ranging numbers of convictions (in fact, number of convictions ranged from 1 to 93). In terms of crime-type participation, victims participated in an average of 3.0 different crimes, while those involved in aggravated assaults have participated in nearly 3.6 crime types, and those involved in common assault in 2.5 crime types.

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[34] There is missing information for one individual involved ~~in~~ an aggravated assault.

The proportions of victims who have criminal records, as with offenders, varies substantially by victim's sex. Forty-seven percent of male victims had criminal records, compared to 34% of female victims. The proportions of victims with criminal records decreases with assault severity. One anomalous finding, however, is the proportion of female victims of aggravated assault who have criminal records. While 53% of male victims of aggravated assault have criminal records, nearly 60% of female victims of aggravated assault have criminal records. For each of the lower two levels, the proportions of male and female victims with criminal records decreases, but male proportions remain substantially higher at both levels.[35] In contrast to offenders, the proportions of victims with criminal records does not peak at 25-32 years of age. Instead, the proportions of victims with criminal records increases with the age of the victim. For those 17 years and under, 15% have criminal records; those aged 18-25 years, 31% ; those aged 25-32 years, 55%; those aged 33-45, 56%; and 59% of victims 46 years of age and older have criminal records.[36]

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[35] See Table 4.L in Appendix Seven for further information.

[36] See Table 4.M in Appendix Seven for further information.

An examination of the race of victim and criminal record yields a similar pattern to that existing among offenders. For white victims, 42% have criminal records, as do 64% of aboriginal victims and 37% of "other" victims. The proportions of caucasians and aboriginals who have criminal records decreases with decreasing assault severity. At the same time, the proportions of native victims with records remains substantially higher than their caucasian victim counterparts.[37]

The only significant finding for previous assault convictions was found for sex, with male victims of assault more likely to have been previously convicted of assault (nearly 47%) than female victims (23%). For age of first conviction, aboriginal victims were first convicted earlier than white or "other" victims, at 21.1 years of age compared to 22.1 years for whites and 23.9 years of age for "other" victims.[38] The age of first conviction for victims, like offenders, varies with the victim's age, from 14 years for those aged 17 and under, to 31 years for those aged 46 and older.[39]

Male victims of assault have participated in a greater number of crime types, 3.4, than females, 2.3 (significant at the .05 level). Aboriginal victims have been convicted of an average of 3.6 crime types, compared to 2.8 for whites, and 2.3 for "others" (significant at the .05 level). The number of crime types participated in increases with the age of the victim, to a maximum of 3.3 for persons aged 46 years and older.[40]

Victim-offender combinations add yet another layer of complexity to the assault event.[41] Nearly 32% of assaults involve participants (victim and offender) who both have criminal records.[42] This proportion increases as the severity of assault increases.[43] For common assaults, 22% involve a victim and offender who both have criminal records. For assault causing bodily harm (level two), 31% of victims and offenders have criminal records, increasing to 54% for parties involved in aggravated assault. Of victim-offender combinations who both have criminal records (N=153), 22% involve participants previously convicted of assault. For aggravated assault, nearly 39% involve victims and offenders previously convicted of assault. This proportion decreases with decreasing assault severity. For level two assault, 20% of victims and offenders were both previously convicted of assault, compared to 8% of victims and offenders of common assault.[44]

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[37] See Table 4.N in Appendix Seven for further information.

[38] The average age of first conviction between the races were found to significantly differ at the .05 level.

[39] The age at first conviction for those aged 18-25 years is 18.3, for those aged 26-35, 20.8 years; for those aged 36-45, 24.4 years, and those aged 46 years and older, 30.9 years.

[40] Those aged 17 and younger have participated in an average of 2.3 crime types: those aged 18-25, in 2.4 crime categories, those aged 26-35, in 3.3 crime types, and those aged 36-45 in 3.2 crime categories. These means were found to significantly differ at the .05 level of significance.

[41] For this portion of the analysis, only those cases involving one offender and one victim are included. N=585. Victim-offender combinations is limited to an examination of criminal record and previous assault convictions only.

Situating Places: Domains and Places

Sacco and Kennedy define domains as "major spheres of life in which we spend most of our time" (1996: 387), with four major domains identified: leisure, family, work and street. Domains include a spatial dimension incorporating various levels of abstraction. On the one hand, social domains are identified by physical environment. Domains may also be identified by the social relationships that we have with others within a particular physical location. The following analysis highlights, first, the physical location of assault, and second, the nature of the relationships as they relate to physical location.

Physical location was initially coded into 28 categories, which were recoded into 8 larger categories, each of which represents particular types of physical environments.

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[42] Of the 585 cases, the presence or absence of a criminal record for both offender and victim was determined for 484 of these cases. Percentages are calculated using 484 as the denominator.

[43] See Table 4.O in Appendix Seven for further information.

[44] The N's of incidents involving offenders and victims both previously convicted of assault decreases substantially with decreasing assault severity, therefore conclusions must be drawn with caution (N=4 for common assault, N=11 for assault level two, and N=19 for aggravated assault). See Table 4.P in Appendix Seven for further information.

The first two categories are private houses and residential apartments.[45] Forty-seven percent of assaults occur within these locations, 20.4% within private homes, and nearly 27% within apartment residences. The next largest proportion of assaults occur in what I have coded as public access locations, which includes parking lots, public transit, streets, roads or highways, alleys, sidewalks, as well as, park or bike trails and other outdoor recreational areas.[46] Twenty-four percent of assaults occur in public access locations. Contrary to what might have been expected, bars (including restaurants) account for only 12% of the total assault locations.[47] Semi-private locations[48], public buildings[49], public facilities[50] and other locations[51] constitute the remaining categories,

Table 4.6: Assault Location

	ALL ASSAULTS	**AGGRAV. ASSAULT**	**ASSAULT BOD. HARM**	**COMMON ASSAULT**
Location:				
Res. House (N=152)	20.4%	19.5%	19.1%	22.1%
Res. Aptmt. (N=199)	26.7%	27.2%	26.6%	26.5%
Semi-private (N=54)	7.2%	5.3%	9.4%	6.4%
Public Access (N=177)	20.4%	21.3%	18.3%	21.8%
Bar/Rest. (N=64)	11.9%	18.3%	11.9%	8.4%
Public Building (N=35)	4.7%	1.8%	5.0%	6.0%
Public Facility(N=20)	2.7%	0.6%	3.2%	3.4%
Other (N=35)	4.7%	5.3%	4.0%	5.0%
Unknown (N=9)	1.2%	0.6%	2.5%	0.3%
Total:	745	169	278	298

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[45] Private house includes houses and duplex, while residential apartments include row/townhouses, apartment dwellings and houses attached to non-residential structures.

[46] These latter two categories include 3 incidents per category.

[47] This location includes parking lots or sidewalks directly tangential to bars. If both the accused and the complainant were in a bar immediately prior to the assault, and their co-presence within that bar appears crucial to the resulting immediate assault, incidents occurring in parking lots, etc. were coded as taking place in the bar itself.

[48] Semi-private include private yards/grounds to residence, garage/driveways, apartment buildings and motor vehicles.

[49] Public buildings include offices and other workplaces, stores, hotels or motels, theatres and sports facilities.

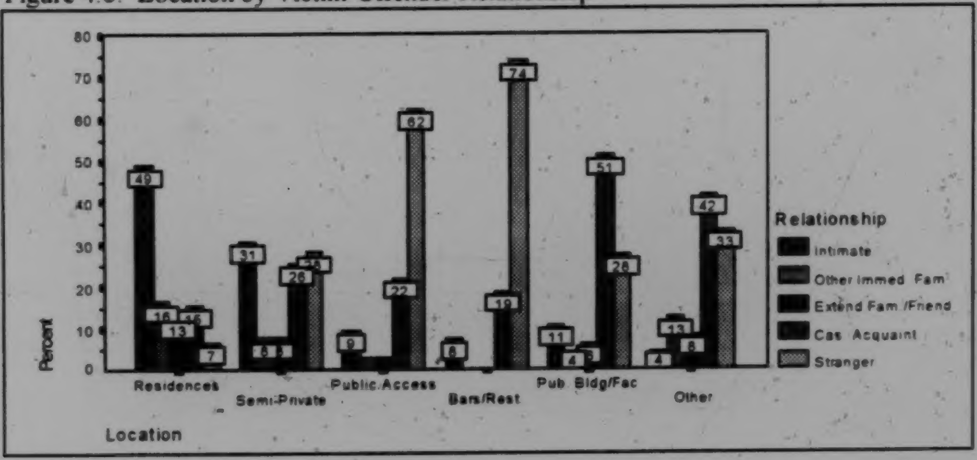
[50] Public facilities include schools, libraries and museums.

[51] "Other" locations include correctional institutions, etc.

each of which comprise relatively small proportions. The proportions of assaults occurring in the various locations differ by assault severity, with more aggravated assaults occurring in bar and restaurant locations than either of the other two levels. In contrast, public buildings and public facilities are the locations which are least likely to be the site of aggravated assaults. Table 4.6 summarizes these findings.

The relationship between parties within physical locations is depicted in Figure 4.6. The majority of assaults between intimates, other family members and extended family and friends occur in private residences. The majority of assaults occurring between strangers occur in bars and restaurants. The relationships noted below did not differ substantially across the various levels of assault other than one exception. Bar and restaurant locations were the most frequent site of aggravated assault occurrings between strangers, than for either of the remaining lower levels of assault.

Figure 4.6: Location by Victim-Offender Relationship



Summary

The preceding examination of criminal records suggests that, for the most part, previous criminal behaviour is associated with present criminal behaviour, as the majority of offenders have criminal records (56%). The proportions of offenders with criminal records varies with assault severity, with greater proportions associated with the more serious levels of assault.

Past behaviour is correlated with future behaviour, as half the offenders (with criminal records) have previous assault convictions - over 60% of aggravated assault offenders have previous assault convictions. Offenders involved in aggravated assaults appear to have started their criminal careers earlier than common assault offenders as suggested by their earlier average age at first conviction. (These average ages are extremely conservative, as not all criminal activity results in a conviction, much less criminal processing of any kind.) Again, aggravated assault offenders have a higher average number of convictions, and have also participated in more crime types, more often, than offenders involved in common assault.

These findings are all the more interesting in light of what was found for victims. Like their offending counterparts, a much greater proportion of victims of aggravated assault have criminal records than victims of common assault. As with offenders, over half of the victims of aggravated assault (who have criminal records) have previous assault convictions on record. In other words, many of the victims of aggravated assault were once in the position of offender in their previous assaultive experiences! This evidence highlights the similarities between victims and offenders of assault (especially within aggravated assault), and is suggestive of the co-authored nature of the assaultive transaction. Even more striking than for offenders is the difference between the victims of aggravated assault in terms of their respective average number of convictions and the crime types participated in over the three levels of assault. It appears that victims of aggravated assault are far more "criminally involved" than are offenders in aggravated assault. These findings suggest that the more severe levels of assault are populated by participants, offenders and victims, who are both characterized by similarly negative characteristics. The dynamics associated with aggravated assault may therefore be somewhat different, perhaps more reciprocally influenced, than the assumptions underlying offender- or victim-focussed theories.

Despite the fear of victimization that tends to characterize public places (as discussed in Chapter One), it appears that the likelihood of assault is equally as great within the confines of one's own home. The physical location of these assaults is suggestive of the type of guardianship found within, with each location representing a unique combination of formal and informal control, determined in part by the relationships individuals have to others within particular locations. Both residences and public access locations are the primary locations of assaultive activity. Residences are characterized primarily by informal controls, whereas public locations vary in the degree to which they are formally controlled. Because many aggravated assaults occur in public access locations, this suggests a type of control "twilight zone" in these locations. The same "twilight zone" appears to exist for bar and restaurant locations and aggravated assault. Many of these fights begin in bars, and are "taken outside", typically with the help of formal controls such as bouncers. Although the police are the primary means of formal control with respect to public access locations, the likelihood of police presence at the specific time an assault occurs is minimal. The data also suggest that locations have very different meanings dependent upon the social location of the participant. Home, for example, does not appear to be a safe haven for the majority of female victims involved in assault.

Situational Elements of Assault: Persons and Places

Situational elements of assault are characteristics of persons and places that gain significance through the immediacy of the present situation. I previously suggested that criminological theories tend to focus on either situated or situational factors to explain crime, at the same time tending to make whatever assumptions necessary with regard to other properties not specifically addressed. Routine activities theory, for example, assumes a motivated offender as one of three elements necessary to the commission of a crime, but the specifics of this *situated* motivation tend for the most part to be assumed rather than specified. Routine activities theory suggests that situations may exist independently of the situated characteristics of people and places. Routine activities theory specifies three primarily situational correlates of crime - a motivated offender[52], suitable target[53] and lack of suitable guardianship.

Temporal measures of guardianship are time of day and day of week. Both of these measures reflect adherence (or lack thereof) to particular social schedules. For much of North American society, the time of day determines which specific activities are engaged in, as does day of the week. Work, for the most part, tends to occur during the mornings and afternoons, Mondays through Fridays, with evening hours more often being reserved for home or leisure activities.[54] Time of the day and day of week are related to guardianship, both of which influence the levels of formal and informal guardianship. For many, morning hours are work hours, and therefore potential altercations may be influenced by the greater presence of formal guardians such as coworkers, supervisors, or other members of the public. On the other hand, weekends, which tend to be spent among family members, are more likely to be influenced (either positively or negatively) by the greater presence of informal guardians.

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[52] A suitable situational indicator of offender motivation is alcohol consumption. Unfortunately, however, alcohol usage (either its presence or absence) is indicated for only 33% of offenders. While the proportions appear to vary over the three levels of assault, with a greater proportion of aggravated assault offenders consuming alcohol than common assault offenders, missing data precludes drawing conclusions from this.

[53] Again, alcohol consumption would appear to be a suitable indicator of target suitability. The use of alcohol could only be determined for approximately 30% of the victims. It appears that the proportions of victims using alcohol increases over the three levels of assault, but missing data warrants against drawing any conclusions.

[54] This characterization of daily life is, admittedly, biased toward the daily lives of men, as women, certainly homemakers, have tended not to be finished their day's work until much later in the day than men. The significance of this bias is recognized and speaks to the fact that the vast majority of assaulters are men, despite the fact that many of these offenders were also found to be unemployed and thus not necessarily actively participating in this male-biased temporal orientation.

Table 4.7: Situational Characteristics[55]

	ALL ASSAULTS	**AGGRAV. ASSAULT**	**ASSAULT BOD. HARM**	**COMMON ASSAULT**
A. Time of Day:				
0601-1200 (N=78)	10.8%	9.7%	10.5%	11.6%
1201-1500 (N=66)	9.1%	5.5%	9.4%	11.0%
1501-1800 (N=109)	15.1%	9.1%	16.5%	17.1%
1801-2100 (N=116)	16.0%	14.5%	17.7%	15.4%
2101-2400 (N=97)	13.4%	16.4%	11.7%	13.4%
0001-0300 (N=186)	25.7%	26.7%	27.1%	24.0%
0301-0600 (N=71)	9.8%	18.1%	7.1%	7.5%
Total:	723	165	266	292
B. Day of Week				
Sunday (N=109)	15.0%	18.1%	12.8%	15.2%
Monday (N=80)	11.0%	9.0%	10.3%	12.8%
Tuesday (N=84)	11.5%	13.9%	11.4%	10.3%
Wednesday (N=89)	12.2%	14.5%	12.5%	10.7%
Thursday (N=100)	13.7%	12.7%	14.7%	13.4%
Friday (N=123)	16.9%	15.7%	17.2%	17.2%
Saturday (N=144)	19.8%	16.3%	21.2%	20.3%
Total:	729	166	273	290
C. Direct Witnesses				
Average # Witnesses:	3.50	4.0	3.6	3.1

Turning first to time of day, the most prevalent time for assaults is between the hours of midnight to 3 a.m., with nearly 26% of all assaults occurring within these three hours (see Table 4.7). The proportion of assaults occurring within these three hours, essentially bar closing time, does not differ significantly for the various levels of assault. The time period characterized by the lowest proportion of assaultive behaviour is from noon to 3 p.m. (9.1%), with 3 a.m. to 6 a.m. the next lowest proportion (9.8%). While the proportions of assaults occurring from 3 a.m. to 6 a.m. remain relatively low for both level two (7.1%) and common assaults (7.5%), the proportion of aggravated assaults occurring during these hours is a substantial 18%. The most serious form of assault therefore occurs during the wee hours of the morning moreso than the other levels of assault.

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[55] The figures in this table are calculated using N=745, which is the number of incidents under consideration throughout this examination. I have refrained from indicating "not known" proportions in this table, as the proportions not known are minimal, and do not significantly influence the percentages contained herein. For time of day, there are 3% of cases not known, for day of week, there are 2% unknown cases, and for location, 1.2% are unknown.

The days of the week characterized by the greatest proportions of assaultive activity are Saturday (20%), Friday (17%) and Sunday (15%), respectively. This pattern varies slightly for the three levels of assault, with more level two assaults occurring on Thursday than on Sunday. For all assault levels, Mondays have the lowest proportion. Compared to level two and common assaults, there are greater proportions of aggravated assaults occurring on Tuesdays and Wednesdays. Again, this may speak to differing daily routines of those involved in aggravated assault versus those involved in other assaults. The proportion of serious assaults occurring on weekends is no greater than the proportions of less serious assaults.

Finally, the number of direct witnesses to assault varies slightly by level of assault. Table 4.7 indicates that the average number of direct witnesses to assault, which includes the offender(s) and victim(s) as well as any other witnesses, is 3.5. The average number of people present in aggravated assaults is 4, 3.6 for level two assault, and 3.1 for common assault. The numbers of direct witnesses to assault varies from three to four participants.

Summary

Aggravated assaults appear more likely than other assaults to occur at times of the day which are typically less "guarded" than other times of the day. Over twice as many aggravated assaults occur between 3 and 6 a.m., than other forms of assault.

Guardianship at that time of day is likely to be informal, if there is guardianship at all. At this time, many individuals are at home, sleeping, and even bar activity would have subsided by this time. This finding suggests that those involved in aggravated assaults may lead lives whose daily routines are somewhat at odds with the temporal orientation adhered to by much of society.

While assaultive activity over the three levels does not vary in any particular direction, the majority of occurrences take place over Friday, Saturday and Sunday. Again, in terms of suitable guardianship, if weekdays are work days, then the large number of assaults occurring on weekends suggest that assaults are more likely to occur within leisure or family domains than within work domains. An interpretation of the number of bystanders, according to Cooney's (1993) analysis, suggests that the greater numbers of participants involved in aggravated assault may be indicative of the ability of greater numbers of people to accentuate conflict. However, another explanation, devoid of theory, may be that aggravated assaults occur over a longer period of time, and therefore as a result of their longer duration have a better chance of attracting participants/observers than the other less injurious forms of assault which may include a shortened temporal span.

Conclusion

The above findings speak directly to the utility of considering assaultive behaviour as an event including temporal and spatial dimensions of people and places, and not simply as the product of uncontrolled offenders, vulnerable victims or conducive situations. By demonstrating that assaults vary according to both situated and situational characteristics, that both types of variables are correlates of assault, provides support for the event framework that emphasizes the importance of assessing factors that are both proximate (situational) and distant (situated). Having said this, my ability to test and model the effects of these characteristics are limited due to the nature of my data. Despite these limitations, the variable relationships of situated and situational characteristics to assault clearly points in the direction of theoretical integration of various bodies of literature which focus on offenders, victims, and situations. It may be, however, that assault is best understood in terms of that which is not as easily quantified. It is to the dynamic interactions occurring within the assaultive transaction that I now turn.

Chapter Five: The Interpersonal Dimension - The Assault Transaction

The previous discussion of the explanations of assault and presentation of findings highlights the distinctions that appear in the criminological literature between a focus on the precursors or situated characteristics of assault, versus focussing on situational elements or factors associated with the proximate assault situation. Chapter Four highlights the various correlates of assault that are specific to this particular sample. While elements respective to both the situated and situational realms are critical to understanding the assault event, a focus on either, or for that matter both, of these realms does little to facilitate our understanding of "what happened" or how individual participants themselves interpret their involvement. In this chapter I address the interpersonal dimension by considering the assault narratives generated by the investigating police officer(s), by the participants themselves (usually in the form of witness statements), as well as the narratives that I produced to summarize the transaction. By way of these narratives, I examine both what people do and what people say in order to grasp the nature of the assault event.

My presentation of the interpersonal dimension is organized via structuration theory (Giddens, 1979). Structuration theory allows for the identification of links between individual action and structure, first, by identifying common features of the assaultive exchange, and, second, by considering the underlying structural themes that these common features allude to. My concern in this chapter is to expose the links between individual experience, specific circumstances and structure.

Structuring Assault

A defining feature of Giddens' (1979) theory of structuration is "the central notion of the duality of structure... structure is both medium and outcome of the reproduction of practices" (p. 5). Structuration, according to Giddens, incorporates the "interdependence of action and structure", by grasping the "time-space relations inherent in the constitution of all social interaction" (1979: 3). In contrast to voluntaristic theory, which sees action as independent of structure, or deterministic theory, which sees action as dependent on structure, Giddens' theory replaces these oppositions by considering the mutual interdependence of action and structure. The means by which interdependence is established is by situating action in time and space, and by regarding structure "as non-temporal and non-spatial, as a virtual order of differences produced and reproduced in social interaction as its medium and outcome" (1979: 3).

Barley (1986) notes the similarities between Giddens' (1979) structuration theory and Strauss' (1978) negotiated order theory. Barley suggests that in negotiated order theory, "even though social interaction is a product of negotiations that take place as interacting individuals attempt to define situations, all negotiations are nevertheless constrained by prior interaction that has become institutionalized" (1986: 80). Barley likens the institutional realm to "an abstract framework of relations derived from prior action and interaction on which actors draw to enact their daily lives" (1986: 82) The institutional realm is used to construct roles, and "to interpret persons, objects, and events in [one's] environment" (Giddens, 1979: 82). The institutional realm to which Barley refers is very similar to Mead's conceptualization of the self.

Mead's analysis incorporates a situated self, the "me", and a situational self, the "I". As Matsueda notes, "individuals are not viewed as completely determined beings, passively conforming to expectations or reinforcement contingencies but instead are seen as active beings in part constrained by social organization (through the "me") and in part creating that organization (through the "I")" (1992: 1583). Individual experience is therefore both constrained by, yet produces, the institutional template (or the "me") to which individuals refer in assessing situations. Matsueda indicates that a theory of the self[1] implies that the "self as an object arises partly endogenously within situations, and partly exogenously from prior situat[ed] selves being carried over from previous experience" (1992: 1583). Matsueda (1992: 1582) notes that the "me" is "multidimensional". The "me" is therefore a composite of previously established images of self that arise out of past experiences and interaction with others. Matsueda further notes that "the self as an object is a *process* determined by the self at a previous point in time and by prior behaviour" [italics his] (1992: 1583).

The "me", or the institutional template, therefore encapsulates situated identities that are acquired through previous interactions with others. Similarly, Kennedy and Forde (1996) suggest that individuals learn repertoires to manage their lives and that individuals come into various situations predisposed by experience to act in certain ways. These multiple repertoires are both product of and produce the institutional template or the "me" to which Matsueda (1992) refers. Our previous experiences provide each of us with a "template" of interpretative repertoires to handle future situations, just as our experiences today will alter the "template" to which we will refer tomorrow.

Barley (1986) examined the means by which specific experiences (action) are linked to structure by empirically investigating the introduction of technology into the workplace. Barley (1986) explains that the two realms of social organization, action and institution, may be likened to two parallel time-lines, depicted as horizontal arrows signifying the flow of time. The action arrow represents what Goffman refers to as the "interaction order", or that which occurs in the face-to-face interactions between individuals. The other arrow represents the institutional realm: the abstract framework to which individuals refer in order to make sense of everyday interaction.

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[1] Although Matsueda (1992) is referring to a theory of self with regard to the delinquent/offender, his analysis does not preclude application to any of the participants (victim or offender) involved in delinquent or criminal behaviour.

Barley further divides his model into temporal phases, with each time phase demarcated by a change in circumstance (1986: 82). Goffman highlights the possibility of a change in circumstance by suggesting that, "once individuals, for whatever reason, come into one another's immediate presence, a fundamental condition of social life becomes enormously pronounced, namely, its promissory, evidential character" (1982: 3).[2] Goffman suggests that what is central to all face-to-face interactions is a number of shared cognitive presuppositions and a set of assumptions that each interacting participant assumes the other knows (1982: 12). As we interact with each other, we continually adjust our frames of reference in order to make sense of what is happening within a particular situation.

The promissory character of interaction suggests, however, that interaction may evolve or be beset by various contingencies for which we must shift our frame of reference, or for which our frames of reference are inadequate. Situations, in other words, are not fully predictable, and we may be more or less able to account for what is happening dependent upon our previous experiences. If our previous experiences do not provide an adequate frame of reference by which to interpret particular circumstances, Barley suggests that these events or contingencies represent "slippage" such that the institutional template (the "me") to which an individual was referring no longer "fits" the interactions of daily life and therefore no longer provides an adequate blueprint for action.[3]

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[2] Goffman further explains that speech plays a special role in the social situation, as it allows that which has occurred outside the present situation to be brought into the present and thus potentially influence the present interaction.

[3] The degree to which the institutional template and realm of action fit will vary for assaultive situations. The above assumes a lack of fit, such that conflict leading to assault is *not* an institutionalized activity for the majority of those involved. But subcultural theory, for example, would suggest that there is, in fact, a high degree of fit between those in a subculture of violence and subsequent assaultive activity, with the institutional realm associated with violent subcultures indeed providing a sufficient framework for interpretation for members of these subcultures.

In Barley's (1986) diagram, between the arrows representing the realm of action and the institutional realm are diagonal and vertical arrows. Barley explains that the "diagonal arrows signify institutional constraints on action while the vertical arrows represent action's shaping of the institution" (1986: 82). Barley further explains that "social practices therefore constitute institutions synchronically while institutions constrain action diachronically" (1986: 82) - the institutional realm provides a means of interpretation at the beginning of each temporal phase, but interaction alters institutional templates within each phase. Similarly, each change in circumstance will be accompanied by a different dimension (or repertoire, as per Kennedy and Forde, 1996) of the "me" serving as institutional template and referential framework.

The means by which the realm of action (i.e. the "I") and the institutional realm (i.e. the "me") are linked is through scripts (Barley, 1986). Barley defines scripts as "outlines of recurrent patterns of interaction that define, in observable and behavioural terms, the essence of actors' roles" (p. 83). Through an examination of what people say and do, a social logic may be abstracted. With the reduction of scripts to standard plots, the identities of individuals are replaced by "the positions they play, their behaviours and speech are reduced to generic form and content, and the action's unfolding is charted as a sequence of turns composed of typical acts" (Barley, 1986: 83).

Barley further suggests that an examination of a set of scripts may be used to identify global principles (1986: 83). In the case of assault these include global principles relate to issues of personal integrity and personal freedom, first introduced in Chapter One. Bruner's (1991) discussion of "canonicity and breach" in narrative illuminates this discussion. Bruner states that for a story "to be worth telling, a tale must be about how an implicit canonical script has been breached, violated, or deviated from in a manner to do violence to what Hayden White called the 'legitimacy' of the canonical script" (Bruner, 1991: 11). Bruner suggests the "betrayed wife" or the "fleeced innocent" as examples of breaches of the canonical scripts associated with marriage and justice.[4] Breaching of the canonical script parallels the breaching or transgression of the barriers of our symbolic and/or physical body implicit in assault. Goffman similarly notes that, in the presence of others, our personal vulnerability to the "penetration of our psychic preserves" increases, as does the potential for the "breaching of the expressive order we expect will be maintained in our presence" (1982:4). An examination of the scripts associated with assaultive behaviour suggest how such breaches are dealt with.

Barley maintains that linking the realms of action and institution requires a series of encoding: first, from (inter)action to scripts, and then from scripts to more formal global principles (1986: 84). Prior to following Barley's lead, I first consider how the identification of scripts fits with assault as a situated transaction (Luckenbill, 1977; Luckenbill and Doyle, 1989), specifically, and assault as aggression, more generally.

Scripting Aggression

Hepburn explains that in routine encounters, individuals socially locate themselves, and others in that situation must find this socially located identity acceptable (1973: 420). These self-identities are generally taken for granted as successful unless there is a negative confrontation or evaluation of the presented self. "Identity threats" occur when an individual's public identity is questioned, causing the individual to call his self-identity into question (Hepburn, 1973: 421). Hepburn expanded on and examined violations of relational rules and how such violations are "perceived as threats to the situated identities of the participants" (1973: 419). The identity threat may be unintentionally caused by others, but intentions are of less significance than the interpretation of the perceived threat by the individual. The perceived threat is dependent upon the "accountability" of participants in an exchange to each other. Luckenbill's (1977) development of criminal homicide as a situated transaction (discussed below) incorporates both Hepburn's and Goffman's analysis of situated identities as related to violent outcomes.

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[4] The canonical script, or the global principles to which Barley refers, are similar to the narrative type that Richardson describes as the cultural story. Richardson explains that "participation in a culture includes participation in the narratives of that culture, a general understanding of the stock of meanings and their relationships to each other" (Richardson, 1990: 24). Paget (in Mishler, 1986:98) notes that narratives "cannot be severed from shared historical understandings". Cultural stories provide a reference point for present and future action, and are often told "from the point of view of the ruling interests and the normative order" (Richardson, 1990:128). The normative aspect of the cultural narrative is addressed by White (1980:18, italics in original) who suggests that narratives deal with the issues of legitimacy and authority: "every historical narrative has as its latent or manifest purpose the desire to *moralize* the events of which it treats". White suggests that the narrative is related to "the impulse to moralize reality, that is, to identify it with the social system that is the source of any morality that we can imagine" (1980:18).

Luckenbill (1977) explains that homicide is a collective transaction that includes an offender, a victim, and, often, an audience. The collective transaction is examined via the particular roles developed throughout the transaction by the participants and how such roles are shaped by participants and contribute to the (fatal or violent) outcome (1977: 176). Luckenbill employs Goffman's (1967) notion of "character contest" whereby a confrontation occurs with at least one of the participants of the transaction attempting to "establish or save face at the other's expense by standing steady in the face of adversity" (1977: 177). The transaction involves what Lyman and Scott (1970) have termed a "face game", with both the offender and the victim, and possibly other participants, basing their subsequent actions and reactions on the preceding actions of the other.

Luckenbill (1977) originally proposed homicide as a situated transaction consisting of six stages. Luckenbill found that the majority of the homicide cases examined fit what Goffman (1967) referred to as a character contest, or an attempt by interacting individuals to save face at the expense of the other. Each party participates in a "face game", with subsequent actions based on the actions or moves of the interacting other, as well as audience reactions. Luckenbill deduced that conflict resulting in homicide conformed to six stages, but notes that the moves contained within each of these six stages are not always the same. The variations found within each stage parallel the identification of scripts as described above by Barley. Each stage is demarcated by an event perceived as significant by at least one of the interacting parties.

Methodologically, Luckenbill notes that "all official documents" regarding the homicide were made available to him, and yet, in reconstructing each case, versions of accounts differed. He also notes that defining the "pivotal event", or endogenous event in Barley's terms, was often problematic (Luckenbill, 1977: 179). Luckenbill states that he used the offender's identification of the pivotal event, however self-serving this may have been for the offender. Obviously in the case of homicide the victim is unable to participate in the identification of this pivotal event. The same is not the case for assault. In assault, victim's versions of events play a crucial role in reconstructing what happened, and are central to the recognition of an assault as indeed having occurred in the first place (unlike the body that remains in homicide cases), as well as the identification of assault as a character contest or other type of conflict.

Luckenbill (1977) found that the majority of his cases (63%) involved the victim initiating the transaction, the offender stating his intention to kill the victim, and the offender following through.[5] These three stages parallel the stages in Luckenbill's later work (with Doyle, 1989), which suggests that disputatiousness consists of three stages: naming, claiming and aggressing. Each of these stages relates to the increasing propensity of the harmed to positively restore his or her identity. "Harmdoer" refers to the participant who attempts to cast the identity of the other in a negative light, and may refer to either the eventual victim, or the eventual offender. This initial action is the endogenous event that precipitates "upset" of the person to whom the harmdoer's actions

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[5] Savitz et al (1991:28) found that for those cases in which there was sufficient information, slightly over 42% of the homicides could be classified as a victim-initiated Luckenbill killings.

(or comments, gestures, etc.) are directed. Similarly, "claiming" is the stage marking the *protest* of the harmed to the harmdoer. The last stage is the willingness of the harmed to use force in redressing his or her negative identity that has been promoted by the harmdoer.

Situated transactions as originally described by Luckenbill (1977), or as further developed (Luckenbill and Doyle, 1989) or tested (Savitz et al, 1991), only takes the analysis so far. Through the incorporation of Tedeschi and Felson's description of coercive actions more light is shed. Tedeschi and Felson (1994) suggest that in their examination of coercive actions, which they describe as "public affairs involving at least the two parties in conflict" (1994: 249), a key distinction exists between protective and assertive self-presentation. Protective self-presentation refers primarily to the face-saving strategies employed by an individual who believes his (and, to a lesser extent, her) identity is threatened (Tedeschi and Felson, 1994: 250). Protective self-presentation is the basis of homicide as a situated transaction (Luckenbill, 1977; Savitz et al, 1991), as described above, and is a reaction to a perceived identity attack aimed at restoring status. Assertive self-presentation, on the other hand, "attempts to establish particular social identities", and tends to be "predatory in nature" (Tedeschi and Felson, 1994: 250). Instead of responding to perceived affronts or threats, the individual displaying assertive self-presentation may attack without provocation, or set up situations to justify subsequent attacks. The inclusion of Tedeschi's and Felson's insights expands upon Luckenbill's situated transactions by allowing for a more inclusive explanation and examination of assaultive behaviour, highlighting the variable dynamics and variable participation of persons involved in assault.

Tedeschi and Felson (1994: 252) identify two forms of assertive self-protection: intimidation and self-promotion. Intimidation is used primarily to establish it's user as powerful and dangerous. Intimidation tactics include, for example, insults, displays of weapons, bursts of outrage and threats, as well as eye contact. Ultimately, the goal of these tactics is to inspire fear in those to whom they are directed. Such actions may have the desired effect, to instill fear and therefore compliance, or they may start an escalatory conflict process (Tedeschi and Felson, 1994: 252). Rather than fear, self-promoting actions are those which are meant to command respect (Tedeschi and Felson,1994: 253). Tedeschi and Felson explain that self-promotion techniques demonstrate skill and prowess, which in turn bring prestige (1994: 253). Tedeschi and Felson (1994: 254) use the examples of the schoolyard bully and machismo to illustrate self-promotion. The schoolyard bully chooses targets whom he can "win" against, thus effectively displaying his prowess and skill, preferably in front of an audience. Similarly, the "macho man", in the extreme, may want to be viewed as dangerous or "bad" and may be more likely to inflict physical violence especially against those who share a similar masculine identity (Tedeschi and Felson, 1994: 255).

In the case of protective self-presentation, Luckenbill and Doyle (1989) demarcate the stages of assaultive events (naming, claiming and aggressing). On the other hand, Tedeschi and Felson (1994) suggest that there may not necessarily be stages associated with assertive self-presentation as there may be no precipitating events or circumstances that signal the offender to begin his or her assertive tactics. Having considered the structure of assaultive transactions, I now turn to the task of examining the content of the scripts associated with these transactions.

Structuring the Assault Event: Protective Self-Presentation

In the introductory chapter, I suggested that assault is, at it's most basic, an (actual, perceived, or threatened) impingement of one body upon another. But the impingement of body upon body may describe only one aspect or phase of assault. As Luckenbill (1977) suggests in his analysis of homicide, the physical impingement of one body upon another need not happen until the latter stages of a character contest. The character contest may have initially begun having nothing whatsoever to do with physical bodies, other than their co-presence. The initiation of character contests may instead have more to do with the "invisible wall of affects" (Elias, 1978) raised between one body and another. As Elias (1978) and Goffman (1967) note, not only are there physical barriers associated with bodies, but there are also mental and symbolic barriers. Each of us has a different experiential base associated with our (symbolic and physical) bodies. These experiential bases influence how it is that various stimuli will be interpreted (as per our interpretative repertoires), which also influence our more or less scripted reactions that we may invoke in response. Because assault is about impingement on the physical or symbolic body, the scripts associated with assault reflect this duality, and vary depending on the contexts in which such (symbolic or physical) penetration or impingement occurs.

Each of the 745 assault incidents were examined to determine specifically what happened - what each participant said and did while in each other's physical presence. It was determined that adequate information existed to code 395 of the 745 cases. Of these, 73% (287 cases) appeared to involve a character contest and are examples of protective self-presentation, or "Luckenbill" assaults as initiated by the victim. However, 20% of the 395 cases involved a character contest, but appeared to be initiated by the eventual offender in the transaction. For my purposes, offender-initiated character contests are instances of assertive self-promotion employing intimidation tactics. Seventy-nine cases were coded as examples of self-promoting assertive self-presentation. The remaining 29 cases (7%) were cases in which the assault event was tangential to another criminal event, such as robbery, theft or break and enter, and were excluded from the analysis.[6]

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[6] In his original research, Luckenbill (1977) also excluded incidents involving homicides occurring tangential to the primary criminal activity of robbery, etc. While Savitz et al (1991) include all cases in their analysis, I have excluded them because of my primary focus on self-presentation which appears to

Protective Self-Presentation: Naming and Claiming

Luckenbill and Doyle (1989) suggest that scenarios are the method of choice in attempting to capture the progression of conflict through the stages of naming/blaming, claiming and aggressing. Specifically, these authors suggest that scenarios make explicit the "respondent's willingness to express a grievance, escalate the dispute and engage in violence" (Luckenbill and Doyle, 1989: 429). Subsequent research using scenarios (Kennedy and Forde, 1995) has substantiated their suggestion and determined that relative degrees of upset (naming) and escalation (claiming) can in fact be determined by scenarios and relate in specific ways to respondent's (expectation of) aggressing. Attempting to analyze these three stages of conflict with police reports, on the other hand, presents a different challenge. How does one determine from police reports the degree of upset an offended party experiences? Because I am limited to examining what people say and do, rather than what they think and feel, I am unable to determine *degree* of upset in the same sense as would be possible using scenarios. I can only make an educated guess as to the presence or absence of upset a person is experiencing by what he or she says and/or does next. Upset can therefore only be measured by the presence or absence of a claim made in response to the initiating action.[7] My examination consists of six different initiating actions: verbal insults; direct verbal expressions; refusal to cooperate/comply; refusal to conciliate relationship/misunderstanding; refusal to comply with sexual request; and physical or non-verbal gestures.[8]

Luckenbill (1977: 181) describes claiming, or reaction to the initial affront, as the offended party's attempt to restore the occasioned order, and to restore the identity that has been put at risk. It is at this point that the offended party invokes a particular script

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be less relevant in cases where assault is tangential.

[7] These six initiating actions were derived from the first stage, affront or personal offense, of Luckenbill's (1977) original specification of situated transactions.

[8] Each of these actions are defined more specifically below.

(which is dependent upon the interpretative repertoire to which he or she is referring). In cases of protective self-presentation, the offended party responds to the initiating action with either a verbal or physical response.[9] There are seven specific responses (scripts) which include: demanding an apology or explanation for the offensive deed or verbalization; demanding that the offending party leave the area so as to avoid the conflict that the offended party may already deem as inevitable if the request is denied; demanding that the offending party discontinue the offensive action; threats of harm, warnings, or verbally challenging the initiator to a fight; demanding that the offending party back down, or comply with the demands of the offended party; verbally challenging the offending party; and gestures or physical actions. Unlike Luckenbill (1977), I have also included another category of behaviour as indicative of claiming - arguing. Despite it's non-specificity, arguing suggests that at least one party was attempting to restore the occasioned order, with arguing indicative of a negotiation process.[10] Luckenbill and Doyle's (1989) final stage, aggressing, will not be considered in this analysis, but ultimately refers to common assault, assault causing bodily harm and aggravated assault.

In summary, I have essentially reduced "naming" to the endogenous event which precipitated the claiming (scripted) behaviour of the offended party. The initiator's action invokes a particular response in the reacting individual, with this specific response resulting in the reacting party referring to a particular interpretative repertoire or framework and thereby invoking a particular script. The interpretative repertoire from which the script is derived is a product of and is based upon an individual's personal experience and knowledge of similar situations, as well as the more generalized societal expectations associated with such situations.

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[9] These responses are derived from Luckenbill's (1977) stage three, response/retaliation, of situated transactions as originally specified.

[10] In many of my files, there is little information associated with the precursors to the assault, other than that there was an "argument" prior to the altercation. This did not allow me to determine the initial offending action (or verbalization), therefore these cases were left out of the analysis.

I have suggested that there are essentially eight generic scripts associated with claiming behaviour, which are prompted by six generically offensive acts. Having said this, scripts are not invariably invoked regardless of the context or domain in which they are initiated. Consider, for example, a wife quietly commenting on her husband's sexual efforts while the two lay in bed, or a stranger loudly calling a passerby a "faggot". While the initiating event in both of these instances may be the same, a verbal insult, the interpretative repertoire referred to and the subsequent script invoked is likely to vary depending upon the context in which the intiating action occurs. While the former action may be met with a demand for an apology by the offended party, the latter example may well prompt the offended party to challenge the initiator to fight. Not only does physical location influence the script enacted, but so too does the relationship of the parties involved, as well as the number of bystanders that may serve to either reduce or aggravate the degree of upset felt and thus the claim made by the offended party.

Below I have divided the analysis into six sections, each section representing one of the various endogenous acts that "upset" an interacting party. Within each of these sections I provide examples of and elaborate on how essentially generic acts are differentially interpreted by participants (as determined by what participants say and do), depending upon the variable contexts in which the initiating events are enacted. In turn, these variable contexts and similar acts invoke both similar and dissimilar claiming scripts. Figure 5.1 depicts the numerous possibilities associated with such an examination. Wherever possible, I have made use of witness statements to illustrate context, initiating acts and subsequent scripts employed.[11] I turn first to the scripts and contexts associated with verbal insults.

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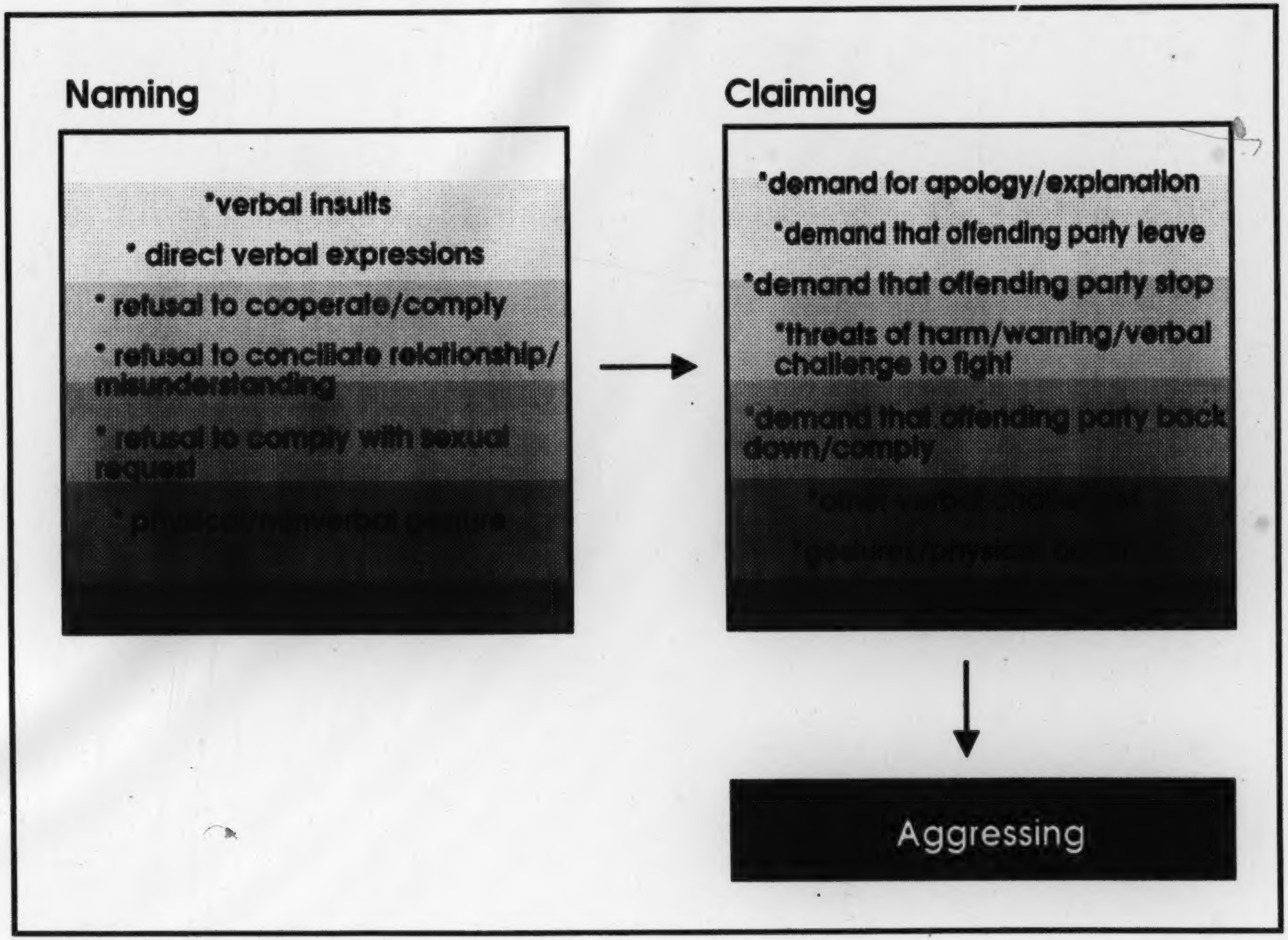
[11] Although issues of space and relevance prohibit the inclusion of entire statements in all cases, I have tried to preserve as much of the authenticity of the account as possible by leaving intact spelling and grammatical errors.

Figure 5.1: Initiating Actions and Scripts


Naming
*verbal insults
* direct verbal expressions
* refusal to cooperate/comply
* refusal to conciliate relationship/ misunderstanding
* refusal to comply with sexual request
* physical/nonverbal gesture
Claiming
*demand for apology/explanation
*demand that offending party leave
*demand that offending party stop
*threats of harm/warning/verbal challenge to fight
*demand that offending party back down/comply
*other verbal [illegible]
*gestures/physical [illegible]
Aggressing

Verbal Insults

As per Luckenbill's (1977) operationalization of verbal insults, this category is broad, in that it contains a range of remarks that were interpreted as offensive by the eventual offender in the transaction. These remarks included insults directed toward the offended party's self, family or friends, "to verbal tirades which disparaged the overall character of the offender" (Luckenbill, 1977: 179), to allegations of spreading rumours. The upset with which an insulting remark is countered, however, depends upon the context or domain in which the insult occurred. In the following example, the assault occurs in the parking lot of a bank in a downtown area, the two parties are strangers and there appears to be no one else in the immediate general vicinity.

> I parked in the parking lot before I went in. when I came out AC Had his truck parked appx. 1 ft. left to open my Car (1980) Benz I went back in to the back and saw AC standing in bank entrance. The Bank Doors were closed, so since he (AC) was the only person there I politely asked him to move his truck, as I couldn't get into my car. He, said ok, just a minute. By this time came out I was standing behind my car. [Accused] under his breath was cursing. He, started up the truck and moved in reverse in a accelarated manner. When he moved forward he'd burnt rubber, I was shocked at this, as at the time was standing at my car door and he pulled up about 6" more than original position. He got out of the truck looking frustrated and I thanked him and said you Don't have to Be a Asshole about it. He stopped appx. 1 ft from his truck and said Did you call me a asshole. I said yes, Don't Be a Asshole about this, as I couldn't get in. He said don't call me a asshole, I said well ok, But Don't Be a Asshole and what's your problem and Don't Be a Asshole. Then he struck me. [#579240, complainant]

The offender reacts to the complainant calling him an "asshole", and a particular script is invoked. In this case, the offended party advises the complainant to stop calling him names. Whether compliance at this point on the part of the complainant would have averted the complainant from actually being struck, is speculative, although suggestive. Instead, the complainant does not comply and the accused hits him.

The next example suggests a different script associated with the initiating action and takes place in a much different realm, the home. The offender and complainant are daughter and mother, respectively. The daughter also reacts to her mother's comments (and hitting), but rather than asking her to stop, as in the previous case, she proceeds to the kitchen and gets a knife.

> I left my brother to look after my kids, but he left shortly after I did. When I got home in the morning, my mom was crazy, she was yelling that she was going to send my kids to the welfare, she is always saying that. She said I was an unfit mother. She started hitting me in face. She pushed me too far. I went and got one of my knifes and I stabbed her. I didn't mean to hurt my mom. [#248040, accused]

Yet another script emerges in the exchange occurring between a common-law couple, who are home alone. Despite the actual content of the sarcastic remark not being known, it seems fair to speculate that the remark reflects negatively on a personal attribute (such as balance, etc.) of the accused. Rather than demanding that the offending party stop being sarcastic, or getting a knife in response, the offended party instead begins his own verbal tirade, eventuating in the accused breaking the jaw of his pregnant common-law wife.

> While we were goofing around AC knocked my soup off the table and I made a sarcastic remark toward him and then he got defensive and ended up helping me clean up the mess, but the whole time he was helping me he was calling me down saying things like "your useless" "Why are you such a bitch" and on and on. When I couldn't handle sitting there and listening to all that anymore I got up and told him that if he wanted me to fuck off I would then he asked me where I was going and I told him I was going to get my stuff together and leave... after a few minutes of yelling back and forth I grabed his shirt and tried to pull him away from the door; as soon as I let go of him he punched me in the face (straight down from the right corner of my mouth) then he followed the first punch with a second and got me on the left hand side of my face directly blow my ear; then not even seconds later (just as I regaind my balance) he pushed me by my face into the bathtub and I hit the back of my head on the tub. [#630710, complainant]

Direct Verbal Expressions

I have defined direct verbal expressions as including both verbal statements and requests which cause a party to take offense. Unlike the above insults or derogatory remarks which reflect on a personal attribute of the offended party, these verbal expressions focus more on generalized activities that another may be engaging in. The following example is what I have classified as a definitive Luckenbill assault. First, a witness asks the offended party to turn around, the offended party responds, and then the complainant asks the offended party what his problem is. In response to the witness, the offended party responds with a verbal comment, and then leaves the premises - a physical gesture. The witness provides a detailed description of what was said and done, as well as description of the situational characteristics which provide evidence as to the means by which the involved parties interpret the situation. The occurrence takes place in January, a month not generally known for it's balmy weather, hence the description of the accused's dress.

> This man came into the bar at [name of bar] and sat down at the table across from ours. When he took off his coat he had his shirt buttoned down all the way and reaked of colonge. We [other witnesses, complainant] had noticed him right away. Within the next 20 min. he had been staring at us and bothering us so I turned to him and said "would you mind turning around because he was annoying us". Then he came back with "Fuck you all I came in here was for a beer and listen to the music so fuck off!" My boyfriend CO turned to him and said "Do you have a problem?" Then the guy in question finished his beer and left. The next thing I know the other guy came back and hit CO in the had with 3/4" pipe and took off out the door. My friend ran out after him over to the next apartment block while CO started having convulsions and started to black out. [#1801300, witness]

In the following example, the complainants (2) had been drinking with their friends at a bar, celebrating a friend's birthday. The complainant suggests that he was drunk, as were his friends.

> After a few minutes we turned to face the [bar]. Upon turning I notice a group of 5 to 6 people standing to our Left. Next I noticed one of the members of this group stepped past us starring without looking away once. As he completed his walk he stood to our right about 10' away. I then said, "what are you staring at?" "Do you have a problem?" Which he replied, "The only problem I have is I'm staring at a couple of Losers." At this point I was struck from behind. [#637950, complainant]

Although the accused was the party initially staring in both of the above instances, the complainant's actions appear to have initiated the conflict, as the complainant's actions changed the nature of the interaction which were peaceful up to that point, staring or not.[12] The response to the complainant's direct verbal expression is a verbal comment in kind, however, with little opportunity for reciprocation by the complainant as the comment is immediately followed by physical contact.

In the following example, the complainants have just exited a bar at closing time. As above the complainant and accused are strangers, and there appears to be a number of people within the immediate general vicinity. The response of the offended party to the initiator's comment differs, however, with the offended party invoking a script entailing threats of harm eventuating in a stabbing.

> Me and my friends were standing outside the [bar]. An Old Man with a pony tail and grey Jacket passed in the middle of the group, pushing me and [witness]. [Victim] goes "you don't have to do that. Then the man pulls out knife saying "want a shank, want a shank". He came after [victim] and then stabbed him in the face... [#336720, witness]

The above situations both occur at night close to a bar, a public place, and therefore likely entail associated situational characteristics such as alcohol ingestion and increased numbers of people, in what also may be described as a leisure domain. The next example differs and occurs in the parking lot of a bank, between a bank employee who came back from his lunch break, at about 2 p.m., to find his parking stall occupied by an individual imbibing in the bar next door. The parties are strangers and the initiating party had already called the parking authority.

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[12] I will elaborate on the difficulties associated with determining initiator and offended party further into this discussion.

> ...I showed the bylaw enforcer the car and he proceeded to issue a ticket, at which time two individuals came out of [bar]. He, the car owner, started swearing he did not give a fuck whose stall he was in, at which time I yelled back that I was sick and tired of having people not care where they park... This individual then shoved me up against his car at which time I retaliated back and we proceeded to fight/wrestle until I pined him on the ground... [#938241, complainant]

The bylaw officer may have had the situation under control as the ticket was already in the process of being issued. The accused appears to take offense to the complainant who returns his pronouncement of care with the statement that he is sick and tired of such behaviour. These comments by the offending party invoke a script consisting of a physical gesture in the form of a shove. This physical response in turn signals to the offending party that the situation is indeed one defined for physical conflict, with the complainant indicating that he retaliated, as if in battle, to the accused's physical overtures.

In the following example there is again evidence of a "physical action" script in response to the precipitating verbal comment, however, the context varies radically.

> I was coming out of the apartment when the care taker cam out and I ask me where I was coming from and who was I visting. I tol him it was not his bussiness. He said it was his business. So I told him to Fuck-off. Then his son came out. And pushe me outside. I fell on the ground, and he starte to hit me and hit me lots. [#963100, complainant]

This event occurs in an apartment building. The offended party is the caretaker's son who appears to have overheard the complainant's request that the caretaker "fuck off". The offended party responded to this verbal suggestion to his father with a physical shove, forcing the complainant out of the apartment building. The parties are obviously strangers.

Refusal to Cooperate/Comply

The largest category is that consisting of the offending party's refusal to cooperate or comply with a request, demand or suggestion of the offended party. This category is obviously broad, and as one might expect, the demand or suggestion an offending party is refusing to comply or cooperate with varies greatly both between and within contexts. In the first example below, the offended and offending party are both on-shift cab drivers who are strangers to each other. It is late afternoon, and the precipitating event occurs on the street, which for cab-drivers, is a work domain:

> ... about 4:45 I was droping a customer at [address] while i droping or offloading my customer at service road, the above mentioned address a car stopped behind me while he was horning to loud. After he understand that I am not pay any attention, he came out from his car came to my cab, and started insulting and dropped his drinks on me. [#873340]

The request, indicated by the horn blowing, was for the offending party to move. The offending party did not comply with the request, therefore the offended party invoked a script consisting of verbal insults, accompanied by the physical action of dropping his drink upon the offending party.

The next example occurs at the complainant's apartment, and involves an acquaintance relationship. There is one other person in the apartment, a room-mate of the complainant.

> ...I was at [address] with a roomate [witness] when [accused] came to the door asking for the $100 I owe him. I am not working so I have not been able to pay him. He took my tv and smashed it it is worth $100. [Accused] grabbed the iron from living room from top of tv and struck me in the face, cutting left eye... [#949110, complainant]

The complainant, who is the offending party, refused to comply with the request made by the accused, the offended party, to pay the money owed to the accused. Upon his refusing, the offended party invoked a physical response, smashing the complainant's television. The next example also occurs within a residence, but the parties involved are siblings. The sister of the accused refused to comply with his request for pennies. In response, the offended party (accused) took the money off his sister's dresser.

> On or about 5:00 PM today, I came home with my mother. Shortly after my brother [accused] came home and demanded eighty cents from my mother. She refused and he proceeded to roll pennies. He was six cents short, but I refused to give him it. He then went into my room and just grabbed pennies off of my dresser. Both my mother and I demanded he put it back, because he does nothing to deserve it. He put up a struggle when I tried to physically take it form him. He layed on my bed and started to kick me. [#818950, complainant]

A much different venue than either the workplace/street or the home provides the context for the next example of refusing to comply with a request. The assault takes place within the confines of a correctional institution. The offended and offending parties appear to be acquaintances, as is suggested by the complainant's ability to identify his assailant(s) by name.

> ...I was in my cell which was [##]. I was just about to walk out of my cell and two guys pushed me back in. One of the guys, [Accused1], told me they were collecting for a debt that I owed. [Accused1] told me that I owed a "bail of weed" (pouch of tobacco) to [name]. I said, "heh, I gave him one last canteen". [Accused1] said that was bullshit. [Accused1] punched me in the head. After I got punched in the head I sat down on the bottom bunk and they both grabbed each of my legs and pulled me onto the floor. They then started to kick and punch me. I kept telling them to stop and they said that they would stop when they got a bales worth. [#951721, complainant].

The complainant refused to comply with the request that he pay the debt owed to a third party. The accused, acting on behalf of the person to whom money is owed, verbally commented on the complainant's assessment of the debt, "bullshit", and then proceeded to assault the offending party.

Refusals to Conciliate Relationship/Misunderstanding

Refusals to conciliate relationships or misunderstandings consisted primarily of the offending party refusing to listen to, or comply with, the offended party's assessment of a relationship or situation. This category constitutes a minority of the initiating offenses of assault, likely due to the non-specificity of this category. As well, the nature of the initiating event obviously implies a relationship existing among offenders, therefore pre-emptorily eliminating a number of assault events straight away. The following examples are derived from intimate relationships, such as spousal, common-law or estranged couples, and all of them invoke the same script, that of physically or gesturally responding to the offending party, typically through physically following the party.

> I was at home at [address] when AC, my comonlaw husband was there and he got upset because I want thim to move and that I took him off my social services... and he got mader when I told him that I was not going to give him any money from my cheque, and that he would have to apply again for himself. So I walked out he came after me. When I was going to my Dad's house he followed me in. I told him to leave he started to call me names and then he pushed me... [#291750, complainant]

The refusal to conciliate the relationship is indicated by the offending party's walking away from the offender. The offended party responds physically by following the complainant. A similar example follows. Unlike the previous event, however, which occurs in the afternoon, between a couple who have been together for a year and a half, this incident occurs at night between a married couple who have been together for some time and have an adult daughter.

> About 11:36 P.M. [Date] my friend phoned me and ask me if I could go with her to pick up her son at the exhibition ground. I left the house about 11:43 P.M. and came back home about 1:00 A.M. He just came home, smells liquor, and started getting mad at me. I tried to explain him things but he won't listen. I went to the bedroom and followed me, started fighting with me. I tried to avoid fight so I went to the family room where my daughter was, he followed me and asked me where his van registration is. I told him that I happened to leave it at my drawer at work, and said I was lying. He grabbed my head and tried to hit it against the TV twice, I saw him being violent so I called the police. My daughter tried to stop him. [#948180, complainant]

Again, the accused takes offense to the complainant's desire to walk away from him. The accused follows a script which involves physically following the complainant around the house. A final incident is instructive.

> The complainant went to the accused's to pick up some belongings and things were quite amiable. The complainant was in his car when the accused came out and told him he would pay for the seven years of hell she'd been put through. The accused then threw herself on the complainant's car roof. The complainant's car was blocked by the accused's car. The accused then attacked the complainant, trying to hit him in the crotch. The accused was unable to get to the complainant's crotch, so she bit and scratched the complainant. A witness got them to stop fighting and leave the area. [#187411]

Refusal to Comply with Sexual Request

Sexual requests may be either physical or verbal as the following cases illustrate. Again, the context in which these rejections or refusals occur varies widely. In the first example, the relationship between the accused and complainant is customer and prostitute - the two are strangers. The transaction occurred at night and there are no witnesses.

> The complainant had taken a date to her apartment (the complainant is a prostitute). The two had agreed that the transaction would be 20 minutes for $60. When the complainant had finished, the suspect wanted more time. The complainant got dressed, then left her suite, leaving the complainant behind. The suspect followed her into the parking lot of her building. The suspect then grabbed the complainant by her jacket, punched her in the nose and pushed her to the ground. [#482350]

The offending act is the complainant's refusal to give her customer more time as he demanded. In response to the complainant's getting dressed and leaving, the offended party follows.

In another situation, the complainant and accused are acquaintances, and the complainant had agreed to give the accused a ride home.

> The complainant and suspect sat in the front seat while the boyfriend, a witness, sat in the back seat of the complainant's car. The complainant arrived at the designated street address and told the suspect to get out. The suspect then reached over and grabbed the complainant's breasts. The complainant pushed him away and then the suspect grabbed the complainant by the hair and punched her in the head. [#046450]

The complainant rejected the accused's sexual advances, and his response to her rejection was to physically grab her, and then proceed with the assault. I have also included an example of what might be considered a failed date rape, although only the suggestion of sexual activity ever occurs. In her statement, the complainant provides an enormous amount of contextual information. She and the accused are acquaintances, they meet in a bar and the complainant agrees to go to the accused's basement suite to have a drink with some of her friends. The accused ultimately suggests sexual activity, the complainant refuses, the accused expresses his disbelief at her rejection of him and responds by physically grabbing the complainant.

> On [date] I was accompanied by 4 friends to the [bar]. We sat down in a booth and ordered a beer. We sat for about a half an hour making it approximately 10:30 p.m. when AC entered the bar. He was watching me from the bar and when I went up to the bar to order another beer he said that he had remembered me from somewhere. He then proceeded to buy me two tequila shooters and said that I looked very sweet tonight. I then went back to the booth and he followed me there and sat down. When I returned to the bar he followed me and put his arm around me and kissed me on the cheek. He then asked me if I would accompany him to his place where my friends were supposed to be. And we would have a few drinks. I said okay and got my coat on to follow him... We entered his basement and he took my jacket into his bedroom. A few minutes after we got there a girl named [...] and a guy arrived there. He then came up to me in the livingroom and said that he had to talk to me I followed him in to the bedroom and saw that he had his shirt undone. He had taken off his leather jacket already. The door was left open as he talked to me. The first thing he said was "don't you think it's about time we got things on the road. I will show you how a man treats a woman." He then came towards me to embrace me and I pushed him away. I told him that I had to use the phone, I had to go home. I left him in the bedroom where he stayed and I went into the living room to call [...]. I made the phone call and I said that I would be there right away. I went back into the bedroom to grab my jacket and he said "you're leaving?" I said yes. I made my way toward the stairs and he then said "I can't believe you're doing this. I can't believe you're turning me down." I then left the bedroom and made it approximately 3 steps up the stairs when he grabbed me by my right elbow with his left hand. The bannister was on the left side as I was going up and I was holding on to it. I then slipped on the stair, falling onto the next one breaking my foot. [#020900, complainant]

Refusals to comply with sexual advances do not occur exclusively within the realm of heterosexual relations. In one particular instance, two male room-mates of a correctional institution were involved in just such a request/rejection exchange. The complainant rejected the accused's request that the complainant "sit on his dick". The claiming stage is somewhat less clear in this example, because in response to the complainant's rejection, the accused appears to have directly punched the complainant. The complainant describes this event as follows:

> We were in are dorm and it was lights out and my room mate AC was being a sick person and I got tired of it and told him to kwit being a fagit and told him to kwit being gross and I was walking towards my closet and he hit me three times in the face and I fell back on the bed and he had me from behind and was hitting me in the back of the head and that's when the staff came in the room and got him off of me and then they toke AC out of the room and they told me to wash off my blood and that was it. [#694440, complainant]

Physical or Non-Verbal Gesture

Precipitating events consisting of physical or non-verbal gestures are most easily identified. Here, offending acts are just that - actions or behaviours to which a party takes offense, ranging from a poised middle finger, to a lingering gaze, to the unwarranted use of property. The contexts in which these actions may occur are many, as are the relationships between parties, the location in which they occur and the number of bystanders found within the immediate area. The first example takes place on the street, during the day, between strangers. The complainant statement indicates that there are others present although they are likely somewhat distally-located within the confines of their vehicles.

> ... As the vehicle wasn't moving and vehicles around honked, I left the truck to ask the guy to get moving. As I attempted to knock on the window, it smashed into 1000's of pieces. The driver went into a rage, and I, in shock ran to the truck because he was yelling threats and I wanted no trouble. I told [witness] what happened and to get going up to the police station because of the accident I had caused. As we drove up [street] the car zoomed by and immediately cut diagonally across the front of the truck causing us to stop eratically... The male driver and female passenger both exited the car and approached the truck. I tried to reason with them but the male opened his trunk and pulled out a hockey stick. I kept telling them to relax because it was an accident and we didn't want any trouble. I asked the female one more time to control the maale and as I turned with both of them screaming, I was struck across the face from the males fist. I pleaded with them to go to the police station, however the male kept coming. With blood pouring from my mouth and still dazed, the male grabbed me and threw me to the ground as if to continue attacking... [#124120, complainant]

The complainant caused the accused to become offended by breaking his passenger window, the accused issued threats in response and followed the complainant in his vehicle, ultimately causing multiple fractures to the complainant's jaw.

In the next example, also taking place on the street, rather than issuing threats, the accused in this case responds by verbally abusing the offending party. No physical altercation occurs, other than the phlegm landing on the complainant's face, culminating in the eventual threat by the offended party toward the complainant.

> ...A brown van [license plate #]? swerved around me honking his horn and waving his hands, he then cut off my vehicle and proceed in and out of lanes untill he came to a stop in the center [of street]... I pulled up beside the van in the right hand lane. The driver in the van then started to yell and scream about my driving, calling me a fucking asshole. I realied after several seconds of profanity that given his driving habit's he would be mistaken if he felt I cared about his opinion. With that the driver [physical description] leaning across the passenger a blond women and spit out the window hit my face. I replied, oh that's nice. He said listen you yuppy faggot if you say another word I will get out of my van and beat the fucking shit out of you. [#231680, complainant]

In a different, however public, context, physically offensive moves are met with similar reactions. Take, for example, jostling in a bar, which is responded to by threatening the offending party.

> I [victim] and [witness] on friday night... went into the [bar] and walking around and accidently bumped into another person he said fuck you asshole, watch it or I will beat the shit out of you. I said to the stranger fuck you, turned my head and attempted to walk away. He grabbed me and put me in a headlock and dragged me outside. He punched me I fell down then he kicked me in the head. I managed to get up and I punched him to defend myself. I stepped outside and said to him that he kicks like a girl would do. The man came towards me punched me in the head and continude punching even when I asked him to stop and tried to walk away. I felt at that point that I had better try my best to defend myself or get hurt real bad. [#239070, complainant]

Physical moves on the part of the offending party are also illustrated in the following examples which take place in a bar. In the first case, as the complainant explains, the offending party attempted to physically push the offended party out the exit. The offended party responds in kind with a physical gesture, putting the offending party into a headlock. Similarly in the second case, the hip-check by the offending party is met with a physical gesture by the offended party.

> ...While working as a bouncer at [bar], i pulled a patron from the crowd in front of the stage and told him he had to leave he said he did not want to go, so I tried to push him toward the exit, my feet slipped on the dance floor and he put me in a headlock. I got out of the headlock and struggled with the patron during the struggle he punched me in the face three times when I regained my balance he then headbutted me, we wrestled some more and he got away from me...[#869520, complainant]

> ...Later I was dancing on the floor to "I will always love you" by Whitney Houston, when I was hip checked into the dance stage by a brown haired white female. After being frustrated by being push around I hip-checked her back. Then her boyfriend (oriental male) came up and grabbed my hair... [#971221, complainant]

The next two examples have to do with noise. In response to the noise that the other party is making, the offending parties take physical action to stop its continuance. In the first case, the two participants are middle-aged women. Early in her statement, the offending party indicates that noise is a common occurrence with which she has to deal. On this particular occasion, the offending party arrives on the offended party's door step and seemingly only gets to the point of knocking on the door. The offended party answers the door with bat in hand and threatens the complainant.

> After all day of next door slamming against the walls and banging on the back door I went over to knock on her door to ask them to please stop it. I'd complained about the fighting in the unit to the office twice before. The husband had banged on my door once.
>
> She claims that she and he "have it out" now and then when I moved in so basically I avoided them. She yells a lot at the baby during the day.
>
> This date [date] I approached their back door to ask them to please quit the wall banging - before I could say anything she opened her back door shoved me to the sidewalk and then threatened to hit me with a baseball bat (black and I think aluminum). She also called me a lesbian bitch, and I sure don't know how she thinks that, she did once order her husband away from my door. [#871610, complainant]

In the second example having to do with noise, all participants reside in a house, the offended party upstairs, and the offending party (complainant) downstairs. As above, the parties are casual acquaintances. In response to the noise being made by the residents upstairs, the offending party first taps on the ceiling, then switches off the breaker, momentarily disabling the stereo system. The offended parties respond by proceeding down the stairs and attempting to kick down the door to the offending party's suite.

> On [date] I was sitting downstairs in my basement suite. The people upstairs were making a bunch of noise so I tapped on the ceiling and told them to keep it down. they then turned the stereo full blast so I turned the breaker off for a second then turned it back on. They then started kicking the door to come downstairs so I hollered "if you come down here I have a 2x4". I was also calling the police at the same time. Once they came down, the three of them, I swung the 2x4 and hit [accused1] in the arm. They grabbed the 2x4 and all jumped me. [#275541, complainant]

The previous examples of physical actions or gestures causing offense occur between parties who are, at best, casual acquaintances. The nature of the relationship between the parties influences the nature of the activities to which a party will take offense. In the context of the street, for example, events having to do with driver error typically do not occur between intimates. Nor, on the other hand, is sexual activity of direct concern between parties who are strangers (except, of course, in the case of sexual assault which I cannot address with my data). The sexual activity of one party as perceived by another is of much greater concern in intimate relationships. The following examples address infidelity, whereby the offending party is believed to have engaged in sexual activity deemed as illegitimate by the offended party. In the first example, the involved parties are themselves partners in an intimate relationship. In the second example, the offended party suspects the complainant of having slept with his ex-girlfriend. The reactions range from physically holding the offending party down while demanding an explanation (first example), to challenging the offending party to fight.

> I was in the middle of a deep sleep when I heard [accused's] voice yelling at me about 2 telephone numbers scribbled in a cigarette package. he was holding me down hitting me in the face repeatedly, I wasn't aware of what was going on, I tried to defend myself as he kept hitting me very hard and called me a cheap bitch. [#572800, complainant]

> ...When there was a knock at the door. I answered the door and saw AC (Psyco) standing there he started to blame me for sleeping with his ex-girlfriend. I told him I didn't want to hear anymore about it, so I pushed him down the stairs then he wanted to fight me one on one so we rolled around the grasses for a little while, that's when I noticed the knife in AC's right hand that when I ran into the house and told WI "that son of a bitch wanted to stab me". That was when WI noticed that he did stab me. [#980080, complainant]

In the remaining example, there is very little to identify a claiming stage from the witness statement, although the report indicates that two voices were heard, suggesting that the two may have argued both before and during the actual assault. The two are a common-law couple. A witness explains what happened as follows:

> ...The two of them came home, he come home first, she maybe come home ten minutes later. He came home and he hit a table or something. He said, "you fucking bitch your fucking everybody!". He started beating her up. She said don't hurt me. [#945711, witness]

Identifying Initiators

The examples above and some of my comments to this point have alluded to the difficulties inherent in the identification of the initiator of the character contest. Savitz et al (1991) suggest that their initial interpretation of Luckenbill's original article was that a character contest required some degree of victim precipitation. These authors further explain that, after personal communication with Luckenbill, character contests as originally proposed need not be victim-precipitated and, in the case of homicide, "some (initial) victims in time could become offenders (by killing the other party), and some (initial) offenders could well become victims (by being killed)" (Savitz et al, 1991: 27). Character contests, it appears, are therefore initiated by either eventual victim or eventual offender. Savitz et al (1991) separated their analysis into those killings that appeared to be precipitated by the eventual victim, versus those which appeared to have been precipitated by the eventual offender. I too have similarly divided my analysis. While there are more cases initiated by the eventual victim, the cases initiated by the eventual offender are enlightening. The following example highlights the comments made by the eventual offender, the accused, who, despite the punch he receives, is eventually criminally charged with assault.

> My Common Law with her son and I were walking to the Laundromat from our apartment when we got to the corner of the building their were two boys and two girls sitting on a parking stall when we walked past the boy wearing the Oilers Jacket asked us if we were police we said "yeh right" and then he told us to suck his cock. I put down the laundry bag I was carrying and told the boy in the Oilers Jacket to shut his mouth. I then picked up my laundry bag and headed toward the laundromat all the way there the kid in the Oiler's Jacket was yelling and screaming at us calling my wife a slut and threatening her and her child I put the laundry bag inside the laundromat and told my wife to keep her son in side. I then went out and confronted the kid in the Oiler's Jacket, and he was still telling me to come one and saying he wanted to fight. I walked up to him and struck him in the forehead. He walked away crying and called one of his buddies over and told him that I had hit him. His buddy, a slight built young man with a black jacket walked towards me and pulled a knife out and said that "if you want to go lets go". I turned around and walked back into the laundromat. The guy in the Oiler's Jacket was out side yelling for me to come out and fight. When I wouldn't he came in the door of the laundromat holding a yellow handled screwdriver and yelling at me to come outside and finish it, and threatening to stab me with the screwdriver. [#111470, complainant]

Offender-initiated character contests conform to what Tedeschi and Felson (1994) refer to as assertive self-presentation. These authors suggest that various activities are engaged in and initiated by the offender in order to offend the eventual victim. Offender-initiated character contests, a form of assertive self-presentation, produce a conflict spiral and may progress through similar stages. As with victim-initiated contests, offender-initiated contests may also be marked by a claiming stage with the victim indicating upset by engaging in certain claiming behaviours. The victim's claims, however, appear for the most part to be met with the offender's aggressing. That these situations are "set ups" for the offender to aggress against the victim may be noted by the offender's claims that his or her actions were in self-defense against the victim.[13]

Not only does the above example provide an example of an assault event seemingly initiated by the offender, it also suggests a complexity of interaction that is not easily captured by the linear stages implicit in naming, claiming and blaming. In the above example, there are numerous possible interpretations. Instead of classifying this event as initiated by the accused, thereby focussing on the initial derogatory comments of the accused, this case could also be said to be victim-initiated, in that the complainant refused to comply with the demands of the accused, and refused to "come out and fight". Similarly, although the "guy in the Oiler's jacket" was eventually charged, the complainant did strike the accused, and had the event ended at that point, the complainant may well have been the one to have been charged.

Assertive Self-Presentation

Tedeschi and Felson (1994) suggest that there are two forms of assertive self-presentation, intimidation and self-promotion. The first tactic, intimidation, was considered above through offender-initiated character contests. Intimidation is a means of making its user look powerful with the purpose of generating fear in the recipients of such tactics. Self-promotion, on the other hand, is used to display prowess and skill and to elicit respect from those to whom such tactics are directed. While cases of protective self-presentation appear to have more or less identifiable stages, instances of self-promoting assertive self-presentation do not. In contrast to protective self-presentation where there is an exchange between parties, assertive self-presentation suggests that one party is instead forcing his or her will upon the other. While character contests suggest a negotiated order, assertive self-presentation implies that there is no negotiation but rather imposition of order through force. While the other may fight back, as in the case of intimidation tactics, or offender-initiated character contests, the event is generally one-sided. The point of asserting oneself is knowing that winning the conflict is indeed possible and probable, therefore suitable targets are chosen.

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[13] Self-defense will be considered more carefully later in the analysis.

The following cases are examples of assertive self-presentation, which appear motivated by self-promotion. In the first example, the accused and complainant are inmates of a correctional institution.

> The complainant was sitting in the "fish room", an L-shaped room with a t.v., three aquariums, some chairs and cannister type ash trays. It is suspected that the complainant was sitting in a chair to the left of the room watching t.v., with his back to the door. The complainant was struck to the back right side of the head, as indicated by the blood splatters on the wall. The area was searched for weapons, but none were located. The garbage cans were ruled out as causing the injuries, but it was noted that there were large rocks in the aquariums that could have been used to strike the complainant. It is not indicated how many times the complainant was struck, but his injuries were such that he had a depressed skull fracture on the right side of his head, which resulted in part of his brain being exposed due to the compound fracture. Although there is no indication as to witnesses, the complainant was apparently taken back to his cell by inmates in the t.v. room. A correctional officer is noted to have observed: "During the face count, not one inmate asked why we were doing a face count at that time. As well, there were no comments of any sort directed at us... This reaction is decidedly abnormal. In my experience I canot recall any time that we went to a unit lockup without having some comments directed at us. It suggests that correctional friends were expecting something like this". [#543030]

Perhaps the level of "respect" and fear generated in this instance is indicated by the complainant's explanation to police that he "falls down alot" and was not in fact assaulted.

While I have started with a particularly severe assault as being indicative of self-promoting assertiveness, the contexts in which such displays occur are varied. While the physical damage wrought to the complainant may not be as great as above, the shock-value associated with such displays may be as great considering the choice of recipient to whom these displays are directed. Consider the next example.

> On [date] about 8:20 pm. My family (I, my wife and two girls) are shopping at [store].
>
> At this time, My wife and I were shopping the shampoo section and I put my 2 girls into the shopping cart, suddenly I saw the lady standing close to my car[t] turn around and hit my younger girl on the right side of her face with a closed fist, the lady saw me and ran away. She wore a black coat, [description]. I don't know why she hit my girl. I didn't know her and we did nothing to her. We didn't block her way or say or do anything to her.
>
> After the hit, my girl who got hit cried a lot and there was a bruise and lump on the right side of her face and she was vomitting. [#707110, witness]

The victim is an eighteen-month old toddler, and the accused in the above case is a twenty-year old female. The accused was noted by a security guard to have walked away laughing with her two friends.

Unlike the previous example, with the two parties having no previous relationship, the next example consists of a father striking his son. The day after the incident, the son asked his teacher to help him repair his glasses which had been taped together. The teacher alerted police when the complainant divulged how it was that his glasses had been broken.

> CO stated his dad (AC) picks him up from his after school care program at school and they were driving home whey they got stuck behind a broken down car and AC got upset and began swearing at the broken down veh. When they got home CO went to use the upstairs bathroom and AC went in with him. AC was still angry and swearing. AC filled a 2 cup measuring cup (plastic) up with water then unexpectedly turned and threw it at the face of CO overhand. The cup struck the CO in the right eye area causing the right arm of his glasses to break, the scrape on CO's right forehead and soaking the CO. CO covered his face with his hands. AC came over, took CO's glasses away and said, "Do you know how much these things cost?" Then left. CO did not come down to get anything to eat but went directly to bed "to get out of dad's way." When I [officer] asked him why he felt he had to stay out of his dad's way he answered that when he gets in dad's way when dad is angry he gets hit. [#973260, officer]

While the assault itself was unprovoked and indicative of assertive self-presentation, the subsequent behaviour of the accused following arrest seems to substantiate the egoism and pomposity associated with displays of assertive self-presentation. The officer notes that once arrested and charged at the police station, when provided with a phone for the purposes of calling his lawyer, the accused was "found laughing with someone on the phone over his being in jail. AC admitted the person was not his lawyer and attempted to ignore me. I removed the AC's telephone. AC had no remorse or concern. He was sarcastically and condescendingly correct towards me." Further evidence of the frustration felt with this type of individual is noted in the officer's recommendations for this particular file: "no sane person could return custody of the complainant to the accused."

The above examples suggest an already implied power differential due to the age differences of those involved, yet the circumstances surrounding the two demonstrations differ by relationship, location and bystanders. The following case involves much different dynamics as they occur between two offenders and a complainant. The complainant appears to be a transsexual prostitute and was picked up off the street.

> The complainant was struck on the back of the head with a crow bar held by AC1, rendering the complainant unconscious. The two accuseds then put the complainant in AC1's car and transported her to another part of the city. About 1 1/2 hours later, using a crowbar AC1 struck the complainant 3-4 times causing contusions and lacerations. AC2 remained and watched the assault occur, making no effort to stop the attack. The complainant received numerous bumps, bruises, fractured skull and a broken nose. The complainant then jumped on the hood of the accused's car. AC1 sped forward, then braked, causing the complainant to fall off the car onto the pavement. [#190860]

A final example is indicative of the range of contexts in which demonstrations of assertive self-presentations may occur.

> The complainant and accused, who are siblings, and a witness were drinking and using glue when the accused stabbed the complainant, her brother, for no apparent reason. When asked why the accused stabbed him, the complainant replied, "She gets that way when she's drinking." The accused admitted to stabbing her brother. [#431841]

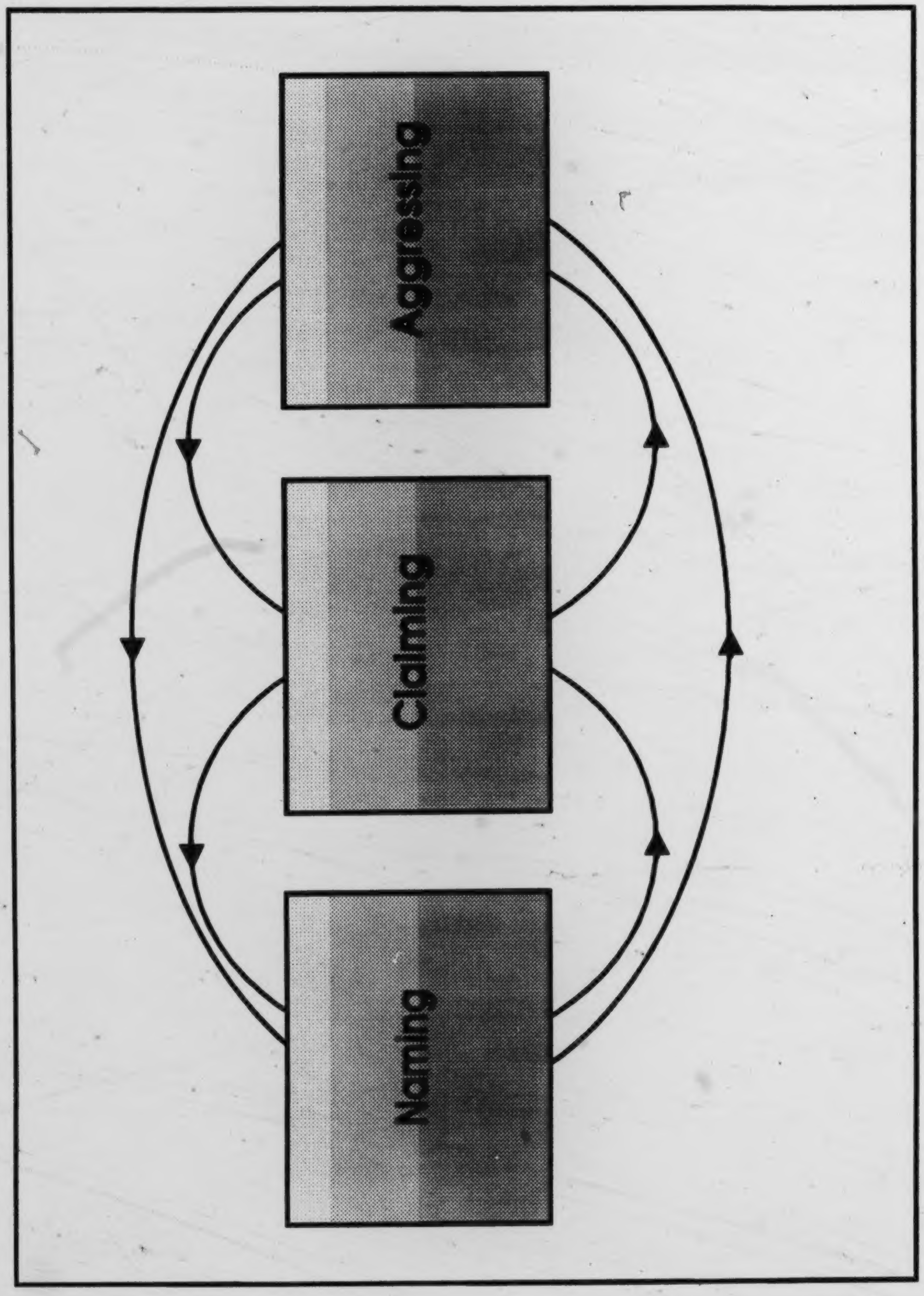
Although in a different sense than protective self-presentation, which assumes that the interpretative repertoire and subsequent script invoked is partially a product of the initiating action, it is also likely that demonstrations of assertive self-presentation also invoke scripts. Displays of assertive self-presentation, however, are likely associated with a more limited interpretative repertoire. Tedeschi and Felson explain that when displays of assertive self-presentation are used in a variety of situations, "such behaviours are sometimes referred to as *strategic* rather than *tactical*" (1994: 252, emphasis in original). The trans-situational nature of assertive self-presentation implies that situational factors (such as a particular comment or action) are of less significance in eliciting a particular script than are situated factors in the context of protective self-presentation. The propensity to enact assertive self-presentation methods may therefore be a product of situated rather than situational factors.

Assessing Situated Transactions

Assessing the stages of naming, claiming and aggressing through the use of police files and the associated witness statements presents some difficulties for the researcher. As mentioned earlier, the *degree* of upset cannot be determined other than by the presence or absence of response by the offended party toward the initiator. While the different responses are indicative of various scripts, ranging from verbal to physical demands, these responses are not an adequate *index* of upset in and of themselves. For example, those who are socialized for violence, perhaps having grown up in a family where violence is modelled, may respond physically or gesturally to every instance of conflict regardless of level of upset. This scripted response may therefore not adequately measure degree of upset, but simply the presence of upset. Similarly, while a physical response may be hypothetically indicative of greater degrees of upset, responses to hypothetical situations are by no means directly translated into action when faced with the actual situation. Although I think I can predict both how upset I will be and what my actions will be when faced with certain situations, these predictions may be obfuscated by the dynamics of the real versus hypothetical situation. Similarly, what we feel at any particular moment may or may not directly translate into action. As Deustcher (1973) and others have warned, what we say we would do may not coincide with what we would in fact do. Similarly, actions do not mirror subjective experience (Denzin, 1991).

Another difficulty associated with naming, claiming and blaming is the linear assumptions associated with this type of analysis. Rather than moving directly from upset to claiming to aggressing, it appears that the contingencies of real life may act to derail this progression. Contingencies involve both situated and situational cues that impinge on the interpretations of events and hence on behavioural outcomes. Some of the assault cases illustrate that rather than a neat progression through upset, to claiming and then to aggressing, conflict is messier than these stages imply. In particular, it seems that, certainly for those cases that involve a longer period of time, a volley of exchanges occurs which might variously ignite upset, while other exchanges within the same event alleviate or temporarily douse upset. Still other cases moved more directly from the naming to aggressing stages. This volley of exchanges suggests that within a single assault event, there are prehaps many "sub-texts", such that each exchange within the exchange invokes a different script.

Figure 5.2: Assault Spirals


Aggressing
Claiming
Naming

While this does not necessarily defy the "truth value" of stages of conflict, neither does it conform to the rationality implied by progressive stages of conflict. Whether the noted absence of a claiming stage has to do with the actual transpiring of events or if such an absence has to do with the interpretations of the event as provided by participants cannot be fully determined. While Figure 5.2 suggests a model that is potentially (although not necessarily) more complex than the three stages of conflict associated with Luckenbill and Doyle's (1989) analysis, it may come closer to approximating the dynamic exchange and the various scripts invoked and interpretative repertoires referred to within a single assault event.

Interpretations of events are inextricably linked to the involvement of police. The police typically become involved immediately following the assault incident. Police involvement provides a context for the provision of information that participants believe is pertinent (despite some of the seemingly irrelevant information provided in the above examples), as well as information that will substantiate their claims as witnesses or victims to an offense. It was noted in one instance that the complainant "conveniently forgot"[14] to tell police that he had provoked his common-law wife by proclaiming, in front of their kids, that all she wanted to do is "fuck other men". Similarly, interpreting for police what happened while blood runs down your face versus anticipating what one might do in the context of research scenarios, represent extremely disparate conditions and would be expected to differ in terms of the fullness of accounts and subsequent identification of stages. As White explains, every narrative "however seemingly 'full', is constructed on the basis of a set of events *which might have been included but were left out*" (1980: 14, italics in original).

Not only do the motivations and interpretations of participants influence the identification of the various stages of conflict, the time frame associated with police involvement in assault may also influence recollections of events and therefore identification of stages. As time passes, details included in accounts may blossom and interpretations change, resulting in a "reverse decay" effect. As Kennedy notes, this effect is consistent with the idea of routine conflict which suggests that people review and analyze previous encounters in order to prepare for similar encounters in the future (1996, personal communication). Rather than recollections dimming, the salience of the event for the participant will influence future interpretations of that event. Simmons (1985: 290), for example, observes that memories of events are influenced by the investment an individual has in the meaning of the event, and on the controversy surrounding that particular event. Past events may also be reinterpreted "every time a new event intervenes and clouds original interpretations with current dynamics" (Simmons, 1985: 290). But Denzin suggests that we are closest to obtaining raw subjective data "when a subject is between interpretive worlds, experiencing a crisis, and is at a loss for an interpretive framework that would make sense of what he or she is experiencing" (1991: 62). If assault represents such a crisis, the statements generated in the immediate context of assault may be more "true" than accounts generated as the time period grows between the actual event and the retelling of that event.[15]

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[14] What is included and excluded in witness statements will be returned to below.

The simplification of what is often a chaotic situation into a limited number of stages is not an exercise in futility, as there is much to be learned from generating 'generic' assault stages in order to more fully appreciate the implications that contingent conditions such as relationship and location have on the resulting interaction, as well as the variable conditions upon which scripts are called forth. At many points in this analysis, however, I wished for another researcher to discuss the intricacies of each case and to determine what "really went on", as well as to comfort myself knowing there might be some degree of inter-rater reliability. Savitz et al (1991) explain that for all cases assessed in their study, two researchers eventually came to a compromise with regard to coding each case. While this may provide a sense of comfort for the researchers, I have some doubts as to whether a compromised interpretation of events is any closer to the "truth" than a single interpretation, despite its potential biases. In any research, from choice of topic through to concluding statements, the researcher's subjectivity is embedded throughout. Whether this represents a weakness or a strength is likely determined by ones' general position on the subjective-objective continuum.

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[15] I realize that assaultive behaviour might not constitute a crisis for some individuals who might be more accustomed or habituated to physical confrontation as a means of dealing with conflict. As well, instances of assault that appear to be offender-initiated may be more likely not to represent a comfort of sorts than a crisis.

Assessing Assertive Self-Presentation

The same problems that plague protective self-presentation are also those that plague assertive self-presentation. Doubts as to whether we are ever getting the whole story when considering police reports as the primary data source is always the inevitable, although not easily answered, question. Although I endeavoured to be as objective as possible when assessing each assault event and determining whether it fit the overall schema of assertive or protective self-presentation, there were times when I felt a certain identification with either a person or place that may have introduced some unintended bias. Reading about women involved in assault who were my own age, for example, struck a particular chord, as did cases involving children. I am also not sure if I was particularly sensitive toward cases involving children, or if the associated details were more generally offensive. Unlike Luckenbill (1977), cases of infant victimization were not generally coded as involving character contests.[16] Identification with a particular party, victim or offender, may have therefore impinged on subsequent categorization. Another as yet unopened can of worms has to do with the bias implicit in the police reports themselves. Rather than leaving cases open, policing agencies in general attempt to clear cases preferably by charge. A focus on the laying of a charge will point policing agencies in certain investigative directions over others, i.e. in the direction of the offender rather than the transaction, which will most efficiently lead to the ultimate goal of clearing the case by charge.

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[16] Luckenbill (1977) provided an example of baby involved in a character contest with his father. Luckenbill suggested that the father's demands to quit crying were met with increased intensity of crying and the father subsequently killed the baby. An example in my own research involved an eight-week old baby who was found to be suffering from "shaken baby syndrome", involving brain and retinal damage, who also had multiple fractures on his ribs and limbs. In the present study, such cases were coded as

Structuring and Self-Presentation

Tedeschi and Felson (1994) explain that protective self-presentation is a means of protecting, maintaining or establishing identities that have been called into question. These authors note that protective self-presentation is primarily concerned with avoiding the appearance of weakness, while assertive self-presentation is concerned with appearing powerful (Tedeschi and Felson, 1994: 256). Both protective and assertive self-presentation therefore deal with the two very basic issues underlying assault. Assertive self-presentation addresses issues of personal freedom while protective self-presentation addresses issues of personal integrity. These two themes reflect the "free from being done to" versus "free to do" duality. Similarly, protective self-presentation and personal integrity deal with issues concerning consent, and assertive self-presentation and personal freedom prioritize issues relating to intent. Rather than negotiating order, assertive self-presentation establishes order through forcing others to consent or submit to the will of the aggressor.

Protective and assertive self-presentation therefore represent figurative end-points on a self-presentation continuum (see Figure Three). Associated with protective self-presentation are victim-initiated character contests. In the middle of the continuum is

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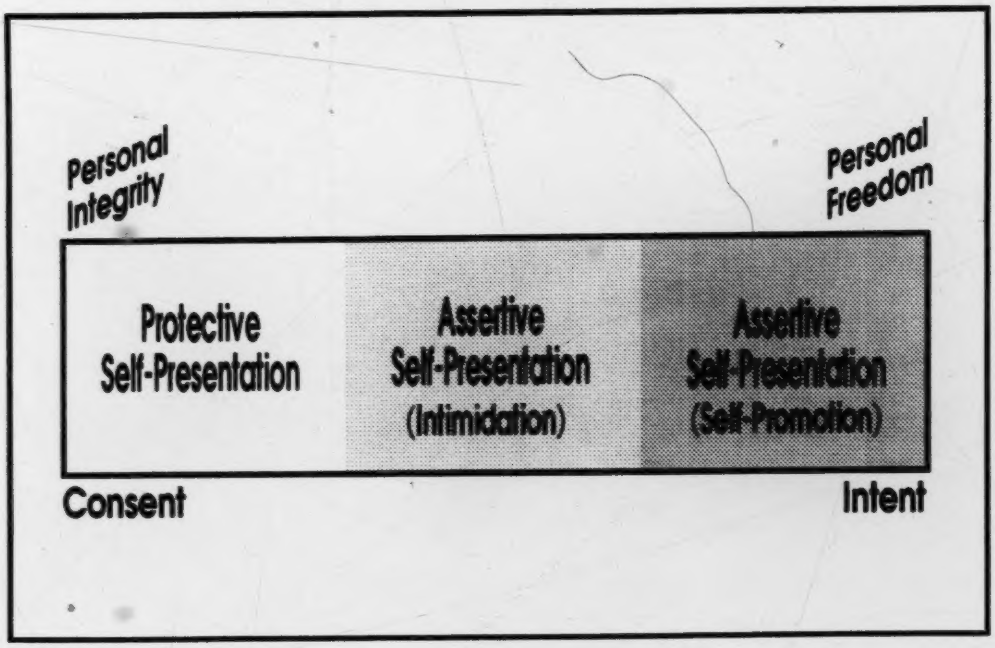
being instances of assertive self-presentation.

assertive self-presentation, characterized by intimidation tactics. These assaults may involve character contests, however they are initiated by the offender as a means of intimidation. The other end of the continuum is assertive self-presentation motivated by self-promotion. Associated with each of these forms of self-presentation are various scripts and interpretative repertoires to which an actor may refer, although the trans-situational nature of assertive self-presentation suggests the association of a more limited experiential framework. The more general interpretative frameworks, or institutional templates, to which actors refer are those relating to personal integrity and personal freedom. Protective self-presentation reflects issues of personal integrity and the presumed right to inviolability of our physical and psychic preserves. Assertive self-presentation, on the other hand, employs the institutional template of personal freedom, and the right one has to impose either his or her physical or psychical will on another. Figure 5.3 depicts these relationships.

Figure 5.3: Self-Presentation Continuum: Relevant Issues


Personal Integrity
Personal Freedom
Protective Self-Presentation
Assertive Self-Presentation (Intimidation)
Assertive Self-Presentation (Self-Promotion)
Consent
Intent

Earlier I noted Barley's (1986) suggestion that to determine the link between the realms of action and institution, a series of encoding must first be accomplished - from interaction to scripts and from scripts to more formal global principles. Broadly speaking, the global principles associated with assault are bound to issues of personal freedom and personal integrity. The next section considers references to these principles through an examination of the linguistic and explanatory devices used by participants throughout their witness statements.

Structuring Assault: Personal Freedom and Integrity

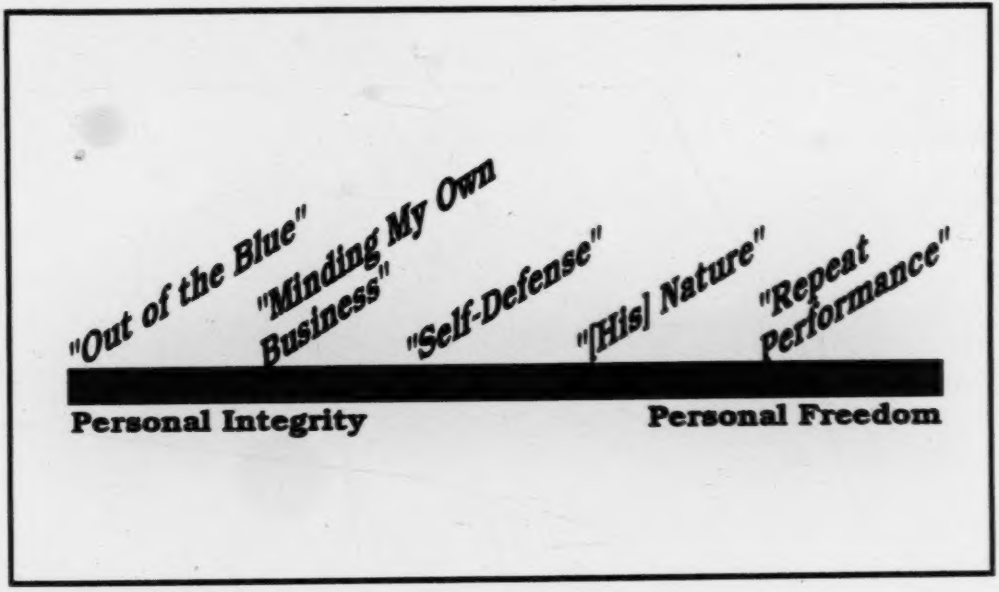
Wetherall and Potterat consider interpretative repertoires, like instititutionalized templates, as a basic analytical unit in discourse analysis. These authors note that "repertoires can be seen as the building blocks speakers use for constructing versions of actions, cognitive processes and other phenomena" (1988: 172). Wetherall and Potterat further explain that repertoires "are derived from one or more key metaphors and the presence of a repertoire will often be signalled by certain tropes or figures of speech" (1988: 172). The way in which language is used therefore predisposes us to interpret texts in particular ways (Bruner, 1991: 15). As Wetherall and Potterat note, language is "a constitutive part of the explanation, not a medium that the explanation is translated into" (1988: 183). Studying the variability of language is a means of identifying the global principles underlying assaultive interactions.

Scott and Lyman explain that accounts "are standardized within cultures so that certain accounts are terminologically stabilized and routinely expected when activity falls outside the domain of expectations" (1968: 46). Richardson (1990) refers to these accounts as "cultural stories". Richardson explains that "participation in a culture includes participation in the narratives of that culture, a general understanding of the stock of meanings and their relationships to each other" (Richardson, 1990: 24). Cultural stories provide a reference point for present and future action, and are often told "from the point of view of the ruling interests and the normative order" (Richardson, 1990:128). The normative aspect of the cultural narrative is addressed by White (1980:18, italics in original) who suggests that narratives deal with the issues of legitimacy and authority; "every historical narrative has as its latent or manifest purpose the desire to *moralize* the events of which it treats". Assault narratives provide us with indications as to the cultural narratives surrounding touch, both physical and symbolic, and the means by which these relate to freedom and integrity.

Accounting for Assault

In their explication of accounts, Scott and Lyman (1967) suggest that excuses and justifications are used "whenever an action is subjected to valuative inquiry" (1968: 48). The function of accounts differs, however, depending upon the position one assumes within the transaction. While offenders excuse or justify their own behaviours, victims, on the other hand, rationalize their roles in the transaction as victims. Yet similar explanatory accounts may be invoked to both justify and excuse the actions of offenders, or to rationalize the involvement of victims. The following analysis consists of an examination of the statements, both verbal and written, of those directly involved in assault transactions. I have developed a continuum of accounts used by participants to interpret their assaultive experiences. This continuum is not an exhaustive list, but rather serves to focus attention on the dual issues of integrity and freedom. Figure 5.4 identifies five accounting devices used by participants to explain their own actions as well as the actions of others. These include: "out of the blue", "minding my own business", "self-defense", "participant's nature" and "repeat performance".

Figure 5.4: Accounting for Assault


"Out of the Blue"
"Minding My Own Business"
"Self-Defense"
"[His] Nature"
"Repeat Performance"
Personal Integrity
Personal Freedom

"Out of the Blue"

Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 5) define metaphors as "understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another". Bruner suggests that metaphors act like models and provide the reader with a means of limiting the hermeneutic task of making sense of human happenings - ones we narrate to ourselves as well as ones we hear others tell" (Bruner, 1991: 14). Metaphors and other syntactical devices act as signifiers and thus limit our interpretive guesswork. The interpretive guesswork associated with the metaphor, "out of the blue", is similarly limited. This phrase was used repeatedly by participants in assault and serves the function of suggesting that responsibility for a particular assaultive event lies beyond one's personal domain of influence. When occurrences happen "out of the blue" the suggestion is that there was no forewarning that the event might eventually take place, and therefore attributions of blame cannot be levelled at those who are not forewarned. As one victim notes, "I guess she just wanted to fight someone and I just happened to be there" [#868360].

Beyond "out of the blue", other phrases suggest the same deferral of responsibility from oneself and toward the external: "for some reason", "lord knows where", "for no apparent reason" and "with no warning". Not only do such phrases deflect responsibility for the action in question away from the individual speaker, but they also relate to specific stances on the issues of personal freedom and personal integrity. If claims are made that an occurrence happened out of the blue, the event can be said to have transpired without the participant having given his or her consent to the activity in question. Hence, personal integrity has been violated. When events happen out of the blue, consent is no longer negotiated (if it ever is), but is rather assumed or forcibly taken by the initiating party. Similarly, if a person is said to strike another out of the blue, than assessments of intent point in favor of seeing the activity as intentional rather than unintentional.[17]

"Minding My Own Business"

A phrase frequently used in the assault narratives was "minding my own business" and to a lesser extent and in similar contexts, "not paying attention". While the latter phrase may be more literally translated, "minding one's own business" relates more specifically to images of order. Those who suggest that they were minding their own business appear to be suggesting that they have conformed to what Lofland (1989) describes as three broad interactional principles or rules of life in the public realm.[18] The first is civil inattention, which is defined by Goffman as giving one another "enough visual notice to demonstrate that one appreciates that the other is present... while at the next moment withdrawing one's attention from him so as to express that he does not constitute a target of special curiosity or design" (Goffman, 1963: 83-84). Audience role prominence, the second principle, is the requirement that "inhabitants of public settings act primarily as audience to the activities which surround them" (Lofland, 1989: 463). Finally, civility toward diversity requires that face-to-face exchanges are conducted in a civil manner and attention is not drawn to features that may be deemed as offensive (Lofland, 1989: 464). The purpose in stating that one has minded his or her own business suggests that these individuals have conformed to normative expectations associated with public (and, to a lesser extent, private) realms. In a similar context, a victim notes in his statement that in proceeding by a group of teenagers, "I walked carefully... I walked normally".

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[17] Implications of temporal orientation are critical when examining the above metaphors and explanatory devices. If a happening occurs "out of the blue", at the immediate time of occurrence, immediate assessments of intent may suggest that the act was unintentional and was an accident, for example. However, participants are referring to "out of the blue" activities after the fact. If "out of the blue" activities were actually assessed as being accidental or mistaken, rather than intentional, the chances of them ending up in a police report would be greatly diminished.

[18] The majority of those who used this phrase were in public places - primarily bars.

Narratives which suggest a participant was minding his or her own business redirect responsibility and blame away from the individual making such claims, toward the interacting other. If one is minding his or her own business, he or she has not consented to the assaultive activity in which one is involved. At the same time, lack of consent suggests an intentional imposition by the other. The use of phrases such as "minding one's own business" and "out of the blue" both point to a lack of provocation by the recipient and therefore an unjustifiable (symbolic or physical) imposition by the other. The implication is that in either case, "I am not to blame".

"Self-Defense"

"I tried to defend myself", "I pushed him back to defend myself", "my reaction in self-defense was to smack him" and "all I was doing was trying to protect myself from further injury" are all examples drawn from perhaps the most normative accounting of involvement in violent transactions: self-defense. Such accounts draw directly on assessments of intent, with actions perceived as intentional more likely to be met with retaliatory measures. Personal integrity implies that we have a right to expect non-violation by others (without our consent). Such violation therefore warrants action to restore the assault upon our integrity (which may be either physical or symbolic). The norm of self-defense, especially when employed by offenders, serves the function of justifying one's own questionable behaviours by implying that instigating acts were initiated by the other party (Felson et al, 1985: 94).

Tedeschi and Felson (1994: 257) suggest that motivations to retaliate can be at least partially explained with reference to deterrence and justice motives. People self-defend or retaliate as a means of directing others to stop whatever offensive activity they are engaging in. A justice motive, on the other hand, is geared toward punishing a perceived wrongdoing. Felson and Tedeschi explain that in "justice-restoring situations, punishment is measured to match the seriousness of the offense" (1994: 257). Self-defense as explanation for assault which goes beyond what is necessary to deter or to restore equilibrium, however, is seen as illegitimate. An awareness of the limits associated with self-defense as a means of restoring equilibrium is illustrated by one offender who, after stating that he had stabbed his victim in self-defense, explained: "If I wanted to stab that cocksucker he would be dead" [#824110].

The invoking of references to self-defense suggests an apparent recognition that there are both just and unjust ways of dealing with conflict, with self-defense representing a just means. The use of and reference to self-defense is implicitly supportive of physical conflict, at least in certain provoked situations. The suggestion that physical conflict is in itself justifiable is also illustrated through references to unfair fighting tactics. Unfair fighting tactics included "sucker punches", being "cornered" and "attacked from behind". Again, references to such tactics imply the recipients lack of consent, at the same time that such references serve to illustrate the other's intent.

References to being fearful and scared were also frequent. On the one hand, being scared or fearful illustrates the violation of personal integrity. One accused notes, "I let my wife drive home as I was shaking and angry and feeling extremely violated" [#054460]. Those who are scared, hurt and frightened cannot be said to have consented to what was imposed upon them. On the other hand, fear may also be used to justify both the action or inaction of the person experiencing such fear. A complainant explains, "I said what's the matter you stupid fuck I'm on welfare the fact of the matter was I forgot where my money was. I was so scared, if I had it I would have given it to him" [#897840]. Similarly, another complainant states, "I was in such a state of shock, disorientation, physical pain and mental anguish that my body was too numb to move" [#282560]. It appears that those who experience stressors such as fear and pain may cease to act rationally and therefore either fail to avoid certain stimuli or aggress in nontypical ways.

"Participant's Nature"

Some participants in assault appear to have accounted for the other participant's involvement in assault by reference to the participant's situated or situational characteristics. Such accounts provide reasons as to why the assault occurred, with references to a participant's background factors serving the purpose of deflecting attention from one's own action or inaction and toward the characteristics of the other participant involved. Accounts that point to situated characteristics as rationales for behaviour are more specific to assaults that occur between familiars than between those who are strangers. Accounting for assault in terms of situated characteristics focuses attention more specifically on the issue of personal freedom and assessments of why it is that the person in question has forced his (or her) victim to consent to his will. The examples below highlight references to situated characteristics explaining assaultive behaviour:

> He has been brought up by a family that his father used to beat him apparently and it seems to have been passed on to him... [#722850, witness]
>
> Going to jail will not solve his problems - he needs counselling - institutionalize. AC has several problems: he is an alcoholic, he is still traumatized by the loss of my brother and his father - via suicide (separate times), and the loss of our 5 day old son in 1988, he needs to deal with the violence he commits on himself and others. Going to jail will create more problems but not deal with the real ones he already has. Putting him in an instititute would be better. I will never be his wife again - but he will always be my son's father. Help his mind to help his problems. He needs counselling - not incarsination. [#512560, complainant]

Reference to situational characteristics of participants as explanation for assault were also found within the assault narratives. Scott and Lyman explain that excuses consist of "socially approved vocabularies for mitigating or relieving responsibility" (1968: 47) and consisted primarily of references to drunkenness and biology. For example, one accused notes of his wife, "She must have PMS we have been going at it since this morning". A witness remarked, "it it difficult to remember exactly what [victim] said as it was my birthday and I had been consuming alcohol previously" [#764090]. When such references are employed by victims regarding offenders, however, such references serve as means of securing blame on the offender. For example, one victim notes that the offender "appeared to be on drugs", while another victim states that the accused's eyes "appear to be ready to pop out and in a trance". If it can be demonstrated that the individual in question is either suffering from or participating in multiple problematic behaviours, the case levelled against him or her is solidified.

"Repeat Performance"

Events that are out of the ordinary are more difficult to explain than events which are more common. Previous experience with certain types of activities provide us with a stock of knowledge translated into interpretative repertoires to which we may refer in making sense of similar situations. There were many phrases used throughout the assault narratives to suggest that the behaviour in question was not a new experience for the participants. Such references were typically limited to those events where participants are known to each other.[19] Examples include the following: "I thought oh, they're just having one of their regular fights", "he has done this to me at least a dozen times", "it is not the first time he has done this", "this is not the first time he has threatened or maimed me" and "he's beat me before and threatened to kill me". References to previous behaviours serve the purpose of establishing a pattern of previous behaviours and thereby suggest that the activity was intentional or pre-planned. As one complainant noted, "there is or was nothing to provoke his behaviour, he has a bad temper and a person could just be sitting and then get a fist or backhand in the face" [#120740]. Establishing behaviour as patterned again deflects attention away from one's self toward the offending other. Situational characteristics of the event then become tangential to the situated nature of the individual in question. The ability to circumvent the present in favor of explanations that are extra-situational (i.e. transcend situational boundaries) increases the likelihood that attribution of blame will be directed toward those who have committed similar acts in the past.

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[19] Goffman (1982) does suggest that dealings with similar others enables categorically knowing another, however, there were no such references in the assault narratives.

Experiencing and Writing Assault

With reference to interviews regarding criminal victimization, Wertz (1985) notes that "the interview includes such elements as distractions from the task of description and descriptions of matters not constitutive of/or essentially related to victimization" (p. 164). Similarly, distractions occur in the course of writing witness statements. Because the statements are initiated out of the context of a police investigation, one might expect that the chronological ordering of events is of primary concern to both police and the writer. As Richardson explains, "*how* we are expected to write affects *what* we can write about" (1990: 120). While the digressions apparent in the statements may be indicative of police questioning as, for example, the inclusion of a point-form description of the offender, other digressions are more strictly a product of the individual's re-experience of the event through the course of writing about it. Wertz continues, "the movement of the description does not coincide precisely with the movement of the lived event" (1985: 164). Rather than experiencing time as a linear progression, our experience of time (a central element of structuring) may instead be experienced as more of a spiral. White similarly notes that the "weight of meaning" of the present is "thrown forward" into the future (1980: 25). Richardson (1991) suggests that time may be experienced as discordant - with the present context determining our perceptions of the past, and the present context influencing our perceptions of the future.

The following example illustrates this discordance. The individual explains his behaviour in terms of the questions that he believes the police may have for him, suggesting that the weight of meaning of his present activities is thrown forward to anticipating questions about his previous behaviour. The writer indicates that he had been proceeding to the police station to turn himself in when the assault occurred, explaining why he had not done this on the scheduled date. The explanation then turns to what transpired during the assault event, but the last sentences suggest that the author has remembered certain particulars about the event as he writes, which cause him to "back up" several times during his explication of the event:

> At [location] playing pool left after last call, looked for friend. Not there. Took cab down [avenue] went to [store] walked down [avenue] to arcade. Spend some time there walked down [avenue] to come to station to turn myself in on a fail appear from June 7 was in hospital from the 5 of June till the 7th of June. Two native were on the street, asking for change grabbed my arm give me some change, moved him back, I said have no money leave me alone, they followed me I walked faster. Went south direction to lose them they caught up and assaulted me. I faught back some how I got away. Working my way to head quarter, noticed felt blood down my face run between building to lose them. And I did. During the assault I was struck with something on the head, not sure what. Made my way toward police station stoped once or twice times to get my breath. Made my way to police station... This I think is about right. [#333222]

Evidence of the discordant experience of time are rife throughout the assault narratives. There were many references which suggest that these events do not flow, but rather seem to abut context with context. Indications as to the "uneven-ness" with which time is experienced in assault include the following: "the next thing I knew", "I must have passed out...", "all hell broke loose", "I woke up in the hospital", "the next thing I realize" and the most common phrase used throughout, "all of a sudden". While such references may speak to the level of injury experienced by the author, these references also serve as evidence of the "shift" occurring between action and the institutional template (interpretative repertoire) to which one refers. As Denzin (1991) earlier noted, these phrases may be indicative of the experience of assault as a crisis. When things happen "all of a sudden", we may be unable, at least momentarily, to interpret the transpiring events.

Other phrases express a similar disorientation: "when I realized what was going on", "before I could gather what was really going on", "then we realized what happened" and "from then on I don't know what happen, there was to [sic] much corruption" and "basically it was really confusing". The use of such phrases also work to legitimate one's experiences of assault into the broader societal view that violence is anti-normative, hence anti-normative behaviour is not expected to fit easily into the broader interpretative repertoires one maintains.

The legitimacy of interpretations may also be reflected in a different accounting strategy. Witness statements which aspire to legitimacy may be represented in annals format. White (1980) explains that the annals form of historical representation consists simply of a listing of events in chronological order. Historical representations written in annals format rely on the "regularity of the calendar [which] signals the 'realism' of the account" (White, 1980: 12). White further suggests that in the annals the "'meaning' of the events is their registration in this kind of list" (p. 13), with dates and times conferring a coherence to the account. An extreme example of the annals format appears below:

> [Date] 1:40 PM - Came home. AC and best friend there. AC gave [friend] $300.00 (3 x 100.00)
> 1:50 PM - I left for 2:00 PM appointment. Everything OK.
> 3:30 PM - Phoned home. Everything OK. Said I love, CO. Said Same.
> 5:30 PM (?) AC starts moving my stuff around.
> ???? PM or early [next day] Starts to throw everything out.
> [Date] 2:30 AM I called 911 - 2 officers arrive only to be sworn at by AC (very abusive). Told to keep the power and heat on. Appeared to be ABUSING DRUGS!!
> 4:30 AM (?) AC calls 911. She has torn 1/4 of my hair out. She has tripped over the end of the bed and has bump on her forehead. Claims I pushed her up against a cupboard door handle. The police do not believe her. More swearing and abuse.
> [#081100, complainant]

Conclusion

In this chapter I have shown that precipitating events to assault are differentially interpreted depending on the context(s) in which they occur, and that these contexts and actions appear to differentially influence the claiming behaviour and multiplicity of scripts enacted in response. In very broad terms, assault could be said to loosely conform to the stages of naming, blaming and aggressing. I make this conclusion hesitantly, however. While transactions *eventually* may conform to a linear progression of stages, simply due to the inevitability of the passage of time, assaults are more complex than what is implied by these stages and appear to be as spiral as they are linear. The examples provided above indicate that not only are initiating activities very difficult to determine, actions within an assault event appear as a volley of manoeuvres that both aggravate and mitigate the conflict situation. This non-linear volley of exchanges suggests that there are multiple scripts invoked within a particular assault situation, although I have identified only singular scripts per transaction, each of which reflect a different interpretative repertoire. The implicit assumption of situated transactions is that assault is a unitary event with a single initiating act invoking a particular repertoire and subsequent script. This is, quite likely, far over-simplified. The examples above suggest instead that each action/reaction demarcates a "subtext" within the assault event to which actors must reorient themselves and hence which call forth various scripted responses.

Structuration theory suggests that the realms of action and structure are linked through scripts, as scripts are the "behavioural grammars" which are products of institutional templates which incorporate individual experience as well as socialization into a particular culture. Barley (1986) suggests that while institutions constrain action diachronically, action shapes institutions synchronically. Past experience therefore provides a context (via the institutional template) for current interaction. While situated transactions fall within this general schema, structuration theory makes no assumptions regarding linearity. There is no assumption in structuration theory of a neat progression from Point A (naming) to Point B (claiming and aggressing), despite the incorporation of temporal, spatial and interpersonal dimensions.

Because this chapter has focussed on the assaultive exchange, versus focussing on more specific situational or situated characteristics, the analysis presented here is of greater generalizability. Following the lead of Kennedy and Forde (forthcoming), I have essentially distinguished between the content of assaultive transactions, versus the process. Kennedy and Forde suggest that the *content* of interactive (criminal) exchanges includes the specifics of a particular situation, its respective situated and situational cues, and how these factors influence the use of coercion. The *process* of the assault exchange, on the other hand, considers the turn-based transactions occurring between individuals and includes an assessment of what takes place prior to and during the exchange. The analysis above alludes to the importance of the manner in which characteristics specific to a particular assault situation might influence the nature of the transaction, yet the process of the transaction is less situationally specific and hence more generalizable from assault to assault.

I have also suggested that protective and assertive self-presentation represent the figurative end-points of a continnuum, with the associated global principles of personal integrity and personal freedom located at each respective end of this continuum. Tedeschi and Felson (1994) suggest that protective self-presentation is associated with competence, while assertive self-presentation is associated with power. Issues of competence and power therefore cluster at opposite ends of the self-presentation continuum, with competence associated with integrity and freedom with power. The metaphorical and explanatory devices found in the witness statements of participants in assault illustrate the associated issues of intent and consent. An examination of the accounts also harken back to the situated/situational dualism addressed in the previous chapter. While some accounts prefigure the present as explanation for participation in assault, thus focussing on situational dynamics, other explanations prefigure the past as explanation, by referring to the way things have always been (i.e. situated characteristics).

Despite the finding that assault may be experienced as non-linear, in keeping with the linear assumptions associated with an event perspective, I now turn to the aftermath of the assault event.

Chapter Six: The Aftermath

My presentation of the assault event thus far has highlighted and emphasized the multiple dimensions that characterize and comprise the assault event. In keeping with the chronology implicit in viewing assault as a process, I now turn to a discussion of the "aftermath" of the assault event. I highlight the aftermath by focussing on the key players involved in assaultive transactions - victims and offenders.[1] First, the experiences of victims are considered through an examination of injury. Victims' experiences will also be studied via further police dealings with the victim, often under the auspices of the police department's Victim Services Unit (VSU). Second, the aftermath experiences of offenders are investigated by considering whether criminal charges are indeed laid, and, if so, the accompanying sentences handed out by the courts.

The Aftermath: Victim Injury

For policing agencies, and perhaps the criminal justice system more generally, concerns with the victims of assault have, for the most part, centred around physical injury. The criminal justice focus is on the task of deciphering and establishing the appropriate criminal charges to be laid and the Criminal Code, certainly as it applies to assault, deals primarily with bodily (physical) contact and the potentiality of bodily harm.[2] Assault is defined as the intentional (direct or indirect) application of force, or the attempted or threatened application of force to another person. The recognition of degrees of force is manifest in the Criminal Code divisions of assault into three levels

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[1] While there is undoubtedly an aftermath of the assault event as perceived by and related to witnesses, due to limited information, I restrict my consideration of the aftermath to offenders and victims.

[2] Section 264 of the Criminal Code, uttering threats, suggests that threats of either physical or psychological harm may be included under such a charge. For this particular charge, "serious bodily harm" is noted to mean "any hurt or injury, whether physical or psychological, that interferes in a substantial way with the physical or psychological integrity, health or well-being of the complainant" (Martin's Criminal Code, 1994: 432).

(common, causing bodily harm and aggravated assault). These levels do not, however, necessarily indicate the type and nature of the force or the specific injury to which a victim is subject.[3] The following analysis considers the type and extent of injury endured by the victims of assault.[4]

Injuries were broadly coded into five major categories including: swelling/bruising to head and neck; wounds[5] to head and neck; swelling/bruising to body; wounds to body; and fractures, any site (see Strom et al, 1991).[6] In addition to these five categories, an additional measure of injury was considered: whether or not the victim required medical treatment. For 24% of victims, there were no physical injuries noted. For the remaining injured victims, the injury most frequently reported was swelling or bruising to the head, with over half receiving such injuries. As well, over 45% of injured victims reported wounds to the head. Injuries to the body were somewhat less frequent than injuries to the head. Nearly 31% of injured victims reported wounds to the body, while nearly 21% reported swelling or bruising to their bodies. The least frequent type of injury was fractures, with nearly 18% of injured victims receiving fractures. As expected, injury is more likely as assault severity increases. Swelling and bruising on either the head area or the body were not found to be significantly related to level of assault, suggesting that these types of injuries are equally likely regardless of the level of assault.

Over 66% of victims received medical treatment for their injuries. Whether this is indicative of the seriousness of the injury is not immediately obvious, however, as oftentimes both the Emergency Medical Services (EMS) and the police were dispatched to a particular location prior to receiving specific information as to the extent of participant's injuries. As could be expected, medical treatment significantly varies with level of assault, becoming more likely as assault severity increases (93% of aggravated assault victims were medically treated, as were 52% of level two victims and 16% of common assault victims). To get a sense of the seriousness of the injuries received, each of the five injury categories were compared with the medical treatment variable to determine which types of injuries appeared more likely to be accompanied by medical treatment. Medical treatment was found to be significantly more likely for fractures (90%), wounds to the body (nearly 82% were medically treated) and for swollen and bruised heads (nearly 58%). These figures should be interpreted with some caution, however, as a recipient of any of the above injuries may also have had other injuries and therefore may not necessarily have been treated for the specific above-noted injury alone.

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[3] See Appendix One for the Criminal Code definitions of the three levels of assault.

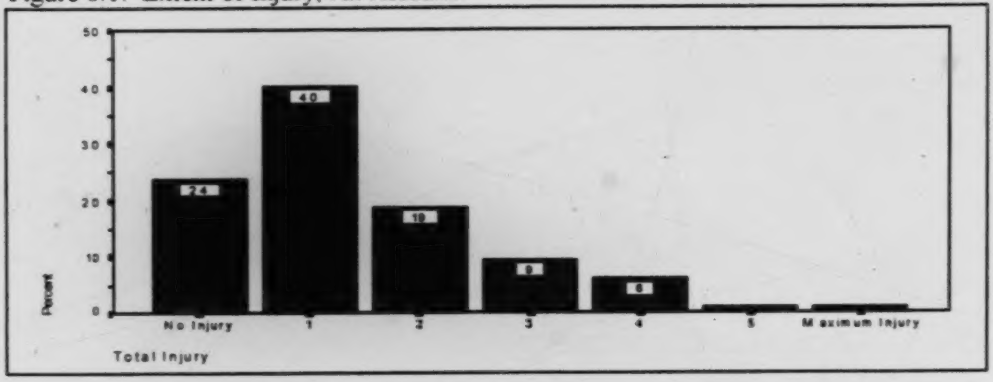
[4] Only cases for which complainant's level of injury was recorded are included in the analysis. As well, in order not to confound level of injury with number of involved offenders or victims, only those cases involving single victim and single offenders are included (N=299).

[5] Wounds were defined as injuries that drew blood such as cuts, stab wounds and abrasions.

[6] These admittedly broad categories only serve as a general reference to the types of injuries endured by the victims, but may not in and of themselves serve as adequate measures of seriousness of assault. For example, lack of medical knowledge prevented me from determining the relative seriousness of types of head wounds, although one would reasonably expect endangerment to the victim to vary depending on such specifics.

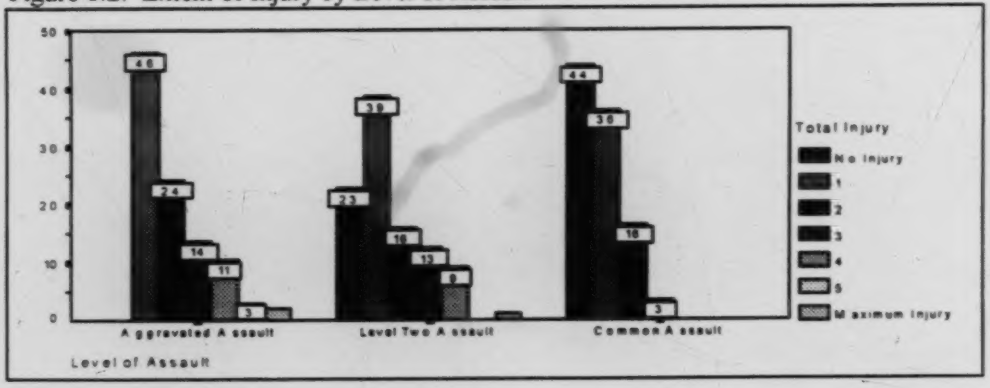
An alternate measure of injury, "total injury" is somewhat better able to measure the extent of injuries received by victims. A Likert scale was constructed using scores on all of the injury indicators. The first four of the above-noted types of injuries (swelling/bruising to head and neck; wounds to head and neck; swelling/bruising to body; and wounds to body) were dummy coded with "1" indicating the presence of the particular injury, and it's absence coded as "0". To indicate the serious nature of fracture injuries, the presence of fractures was scored as "2", and their absence was coded as "0". All five injury variables were then summed, representing a scale of injury ranging from 1-6. Those respondents who were not injured (24%) were coded as "0" on this variable (see Figure 6.1 for the distribution of injury).

Figure 6.1: Extent of Injury, All Assaults



The levels of assault as distinguished by the Criminal Code are clearly reflected in the extent of injury received by the victims. Forty-four percent of the victims of common assault, for example, received no injury whatsoever, compared to 23% of level two assault victims receiving no injury. Aggravated assault essentially requires some degree of injury to be classified as such, therefore every victim of aggravated assault was injured to some degree. Figure 6.2 below indicates the extent of injury by level of assault. Predictably, the extent of injury increases with level of assault with both aggravated and level two assault victims receiving greater injury than common assault victims.

Figure 6.2: Extent of Injury by Level of Assault



Family and domestic assault literature suggests that the level of injury may in fact be greater among intimates than among strangers (i.e. Heller, Ehrlich and Lester, 1983). Similarly, victimization studies suggest that victim recovery differs according to the relationship of the victim to the offender. My data, however, do not vary in the direction predicted by the domestic assault literature discussed earlier (Chapter One). A far larger proportion of common assaults occur between intimates than between strangers. Similarly, a greater proportion of aggravated assaults occur among acquaintances and strangers than between intimates. Rather than receiving greater injury, my data suggests both intimate and stranger relationships result in similar levels of injury. Unexpectedly, however, extended family relationships appear more injurious than either intimate or stranger relationships.[7] Despite the extent of injury appearing similar between intimates and strangers, however, a lower proportion of victims involved in intimate relationships received medical treatment for their injuries (52%), than victims involved in stranger relationships (70%).[8] Sixty-four percent of victims of extended family/friend relationships received medical treatment. Figure 6.3 summarizes these findings.

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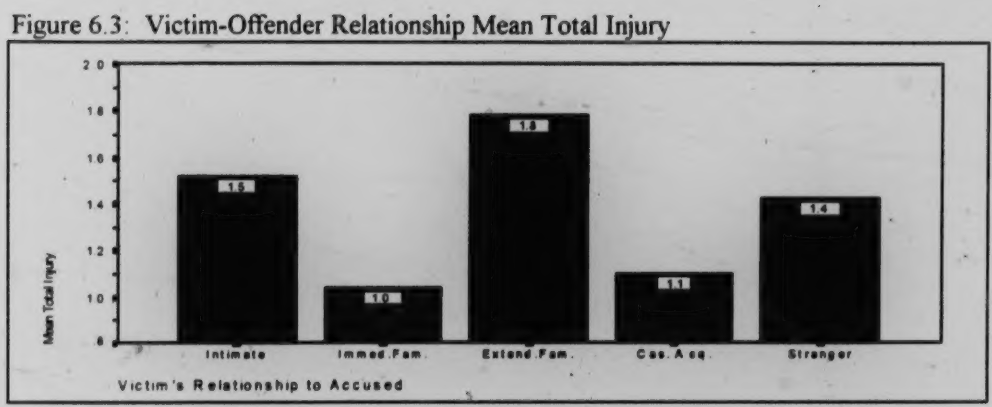
[7] The mean differences between the extent of injury among intimates versus extended family members, and between extended family members and strangers were non-significant.

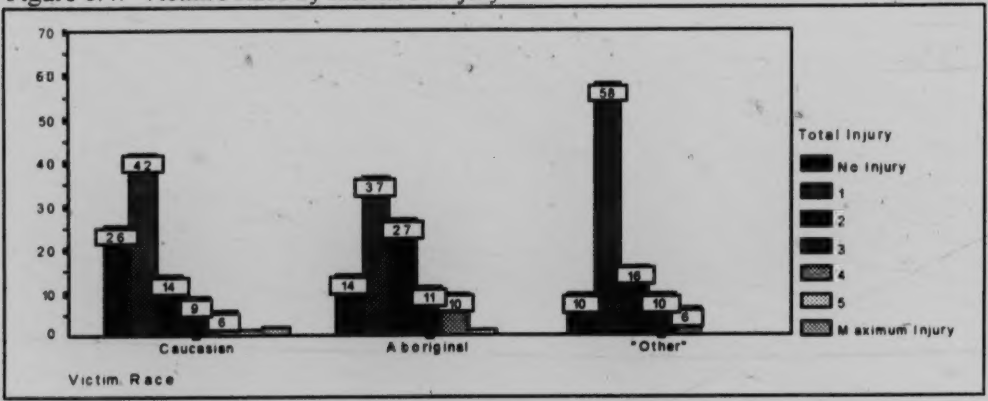
[8] Figures for medical treatment employ a denominator which includes only injured victims, not all victims under consideration. These figures may therefore be somewhat inflated as they apply to the lower levels of assault (where greater proportions of victims were not injured).

Figure 6.3: Victim-Offender Relationship Mean Total Injury



Explanation for findings of greater injury amongst intimates in the literature, as well as the *perception* of greater injury associated with intimate assault, may have to do with both real and stereotyped differences in the physical capabilities of males and females. Females may be presumed less physically able to defend themselves, resulting in greater levels of injury when victimized. My data regarding the extent of injury between males and females suggests non-significant differences in injury between males and females (males' total injury averaged 1.43 and females', 1.39). An examination of injury only, however, fails to account for females being far more likely to be involved as victims of common assault than as victims of the more severe assault levels (bodily harm or aggravated assault). Because women are more likely to be the victims of common assault than the other two assault levels, one would expect their overall levels of injury to be *less* than the majority of men who were classified as involved in the presumably more injurious forms of assault. This relationship is further complicated by the finding that 56% of injured females were medically treated, compared with 74% of injured males.

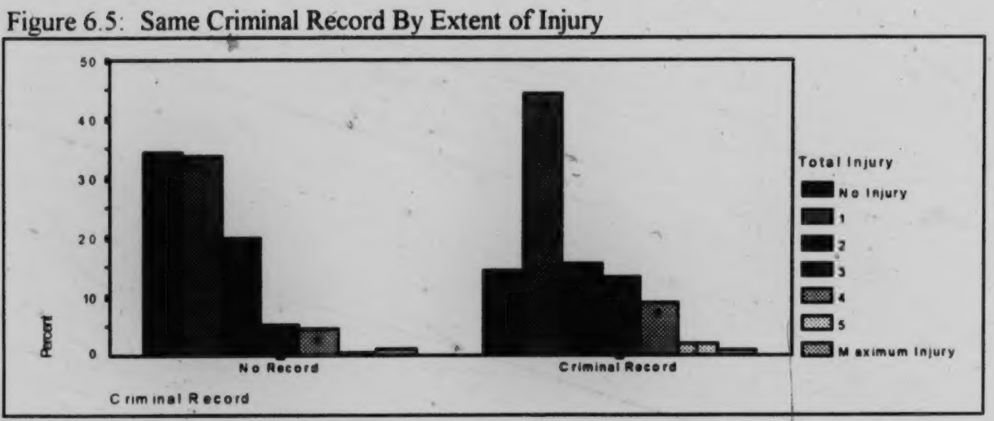
Figure 6.4: Victim's Race by Extent of Injury



The earlier finding (Chapter Four) which suggested that greater proportions of white victims are involved in common assault versus the other levels, prompted an examination of the effects of race on extent of injury. Extent of injury was examined by the race of the complainant, as well as by the race of the offender. Figure 6.4 (above) indicates that complainant race is related to the extent of injury, with aboriginal and "other" victims receiving greater degrees of injury than their white counterparts. This relationship could be expected, as a greater proportion of aboriginal victims are involved in aggravated assault and assault causing bodily harm than are white victims. The extent of victim injury, on the other hand, appears unrelated to the race of the offender.

Another variable that appears associated with victim injury is "same criminal record" (recall the degree to which same criminal record was associated with level of assault in Chapter Four). Here, incidents involving victims and offenders who both have criminal records resulted in far greater injury (to the victim) than situations involving offenders and victims who do not both have criminal records (see Figure 6.5). Thirty-four percent of participants without similar criminal records received no injury, in comparison to only 14% of participants with similar criminal records.

Figure 6.5: Same Criminal Record By Extent of Injury



Explaining the significance of "same criminal record" and either level of assault or extent of injury is a challenge, however. One explanation, derived from subcultural or lifestyles theory, suggests that it may be that those who have criminal records are more familiar with physical altercations and thus are more likely to find themselves in situations that result in greater violence and hence greater injury. As well, those with criminal records may be more likely to physically retaliate, thus increasing the extent of their injuries. This explanation, however, is really only plausible for those who have been previously convicted of assault or other violent crimes. Those who have property crime convictions should not be any more likely to be participants in aggravated assault than those who have no criminal record.

Assessing Victimization

The degree of physical injury a victim suffers is perhaps the most objective indicator of the effects of an assaultive transaction on the victim. Less obvious, but equally as crucial to assessing the aftermath of a crime event, is the psychological injury and response to victimization. Policing data, unfortunately, provide little in the way of assessing psychological responses to victimization. Formerly, policing mandates were such that once investigations were over and charges laid, police involvement with victims (and offenders) was typically finished until the next criminal occurrence involving either party. Presently, however, policing agencies have developed much greater interest in both the physical and psychological well-being of the victim, for a variety of (political and non-political) reasons. Not only has the field of victimology ensured the place of the victim in analyses of crime, but policing agencies have also reacted to public service mandates requiring the police to more fully serve the community. Regardless of the reasons, the development of Victim Services Units (VSUs) in many policing agencies is evidence of the increasing concern with the victims of crime and the professionalization of policing.

The assault files under examination included anecdotal information regarding contact between the police department's VSU and the victim, with approximately 10% of the cases having such contact.[9] The conversations between the VSU volunteer and the victim were essentially directed at both the physical and psychological recovery of the victim. It is difficult to determine if VSU personnel consciously or specifically direct their comments in particular ways depending upon the nature of the incident (Karmen, 1996). Certainly for assaults occurring between parties who are known to each other, the state of the post-assault relationship is more salient than the post-assault relationship between strangers involved in assault. Although the limited number of cases precludes drawing vast generalizations, certain relationships appear nonetheless.

The majority of cases involving strangers appear to focus somewhat more on the physical consequences and physical recovery of assault than on psychological consequences or recovery. At the same time, incidents involving those who are intimates, or at least more intimate than strangers, appear more likely to focus also on the victim's emotional recovery and the psychological trauma associated with his or her assaultive experience. Instructive in this regard is the victims' attribution of the actions of the assailant to other situated or situational circumstances. For example, one male victim who was assaulted by a casual acquaintance told the VSU that he (the victim) was doing fine, and that he holds no resentment toward the accused. The complainant explained the accused's actions by stating that the accused is "really going through some personal crises in his life right now". This re-evaluation of the offender's motive comes one month after the assault occurred, and appears in contrast to the victim's insistence immediately after the assault that the offender be charged. Another example is suggested by the comments of a victim who was stabbed by his brother. Three weeks after the incident, the victim attributes his brother's behaviour to the fact that his brother needs counselling, and should have had counselling prior to the incident. The victim further explains that the accused becomes "totally obnoxious and loud" when he drinks. There are only two cases where the victim specifically mentions to VSU that he or she wants charges against the accused dropped.[10] In both cases, the victims (one male and one female) are in common-law relationships with their assailants.

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[9] This figure is based on only those cases for which there is detailed information (N=360). As well, contact between the victim and VSU may have occurred but may not have been included as an attachment in the specific file under examination.

The Aftermath: Judicial Responses to Assault

Of course, many incidents that are similar to those examined in this thesis do not result in assault. One could imagine any number of scenarios in which the circumstances are similar but no assault occurs. For instance, rather than developing into a physical altercation, parties could potentially leave the area, apologize or back down. Bystanders could intervene and redirect activities away from conflict (Kennedy, 1990). The data under consideration here include only those cases where some party at some point felt that the situation could legitimately be defined as suitable for police intervention. Participants may not necessarily have recognized the situation as being one of assault, but obviously felt that the situation warranted the involvement of police. The police, in turn, assess the situation and either support an individual's definition of the situation or may fail to similarly define the situation as one suited for police involvement. Before turning to situations in which the police appear to agree that an incident warrants their involvement, I will first briefly describe the situations where participants' definitions are not supported by the police. In such situations, the participant(s) are typically told by police to "lay their own information".

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[10] There were, however, other instances in which the complainant had indicated to police, typically at the time of the occurrence, that he or she did not want charges laid against the accused. The figure here refers only to indications made by victims to the VSU specifically.

"Lay Your Own Information"

Whether or not an assault situation can be officially labelled as criminal depends upon a number of factors. In some cases, decisions to lay charges are immediate as the police officers themselves are witness to the assaultive transaction. The majority of cases, however, are not witnessed by police and arrest decision-making relies on both legal and extra-legal factors. Victim injury, for example, plays an obvious role in the decision to arrest, as does the demeanour of the participants in question (see, for example, Smith and Visher, 1981; Smith and Klein, 1984; Gove et al, 1985; Karmen, 1996). A situation initially defined by police as "criminal" typically involves a police investigation that follows in order to establish the specifics of the incident. The police attempt to clear cases defined as criminal by charging one or more parties. "Clearing by charge" is perhaps the most satisfactory policing response to a situation, as such a response essentially removes the incident from the perview of the police domain. Not all situations, however, are defined by police as being "criminal" or indeed as warranting police (and later judicial) involvement. For situations in which the police do not (or cannot, as the case may be), agree with participants' definitions of the situations as being criminal (or appropriate for police intervention), the police may advise the participant(s) to lay his or her own information. Such advice essentially suggests that the investigating officer feels that there is either not enough information to support further investigation, or that the information provided does not conform to police evaluation of the situation as criminal (or assaultive). Individuals advised to lay their own information are provided with instructions as to the particular means by which they may pursue criminal charges of their own accord.

Of the 745 assault incidents under consideration, 58 of these incidents (involving 63 offenders) resulted in the police advising the complainant(s) to lay his or her own information.[11] Nearly 88% of cases advised to "lay your own information" were incidents classified as common assault, with the remaining 12% level two assaults. None of the incidents classified as aggravated assault involved such advice. Of these 63 individuals, nearly 32% involved intimate offender-victim relationships, nearly 27% involved casual acquaintances, while 14% involved strangers.

The reasons for parties being advised to lay their own information is somewhat varied, but it appears that the most common reason is due to victims, offenders and witnesses presenting conflicting information, with the evidence (should it exist) supportive of either all or none of the participants' accounts. Over half of the incidents involving advice to lay own information consisted of conflicting stories. For example, in one incident (#051181), the complainant explained to police that her boyfriend had thrown a can of shaving cream at her right buttock, causing a slight red mark, and that he had cut off the sleeves of her shirts. The accused, on the other hand, told police that the complainant had become angry with him after he had refused to engage in a particular sexual activity. The complainant then threw the shaving cream and the accused threw it back. The accused also indicates that the shirts whose sleeves he cut off belonged to him. Police checked the shirts and found them to be men's shirts. The complainant was advised to lay her own information.

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[11] There were certain cases that involved the suspect attempting to lay charges against the victim after the suspect had been charged. These were not included in the above figure.

In another case involving conflicting versions of events, the complainant states that she was in a bar, and the accused walked up to her and asked to speak to her in the bathroom. The complainant complied and once at the bathroom, the suspect began to punch the complainant in the face without warning. The complainant claims not to have fought back and another bathroom patron broke the fight up. The suspect's version is quite different. She states that she and the complainant were at a party earlier in the evening and the two began to argue. The suspect then went to the bar. Later that evening, the complainant arrived. The suspect states that she was in the bathroom coming out of a stall, when the complainant pushed her backwards. The suspect than hit the complainant three times in self-defense. The officer notes that neither party appeared to be telling the whole truth and the only witnesses to the altercation are friends of the complainant. The complainant was advised to lay her own information.

Evaluations of the veracity of the complainant's appeal is a major factor in the officer's assessment of the situation. It appears that the demeanour of the participants toward police, level of injury, relationship between parties, coupled with the (lack of) evidence, may cause police to question the complainant's motivation in involving the police (Smith, D.A., 1987). In one particular case, an officer notes: "It became apparent that the complainant's motivation for this was because [Accused] was not allowing him back in the house. I attempted to explain to the complainant that even if [Accused] was charged with assault it didn't mean she would be held in custody. The complainant however was pre-occupied with the fact that he was the one paying all the bills and that the house should be his..." (#000811). The two parties involved were common-law. In another incident, the complainant had explained to police that she had been punched by her daughter while at a Bingo game. The officer notes: "The complainant was not injured. It was just a fluke that the complainant and [Suspect] were at the same Bingo game at the same time. The punch [Suspect] threw was a result of a long-lasting family fight in a disfunctional family. The complainant was advised that she could not use police as a tool to get even with her daughter" (#090323). Motivations of complainants also are called into question when incidents are not immediately reported and the complainant has waited for a substantial period of time (two weeks to one month) before reporting the incident to police.

A final, however not necessarily distinct, reason for the police to advise complainants to lay their own information is due to the complainant's own precipitating activity. In some of the cases, it appears that the actions of the complainant were interpreted (by police) as directly provoking the eventual assaultive outcome. This notion corresponds with victim precipitation and is incorporated in the analysis of situated transactions (although such incidents may not necessarily have involved character contests). In one particular incident, the complainant, who is the caretaker of a building, overheard two tenants arguing. The complainant then entered the apartment, uninvited through a closed door, and attempted to throw the suspect out of his suite. The suspect refused to leave and eventually hit the complainant. The complainant was noted to have a very "heavy-handed approach to care-taking the building" and was advised by police to lay his own information. In a second case, the complainant reported to police that she had been assaulted by her brother as he escorted her from her mother's house to a waiting cab. The complainant's nose was broken. Upon speaking with the suspect/brother, as well as other family members, police learned that the complainant had been drinking heavily and had hit her mother just prior to her brother removing her from the premises. Upon confronting the complainant with these details, the "complainant seemed embarrassed that these details would come out about her actions, especially regarding her striking her mother" (#023344). The complainant was then unsure if she wanted charges laid against her brother, and police advised her to lay her own information.

Entering the Criminal Justice System

The gate-keeping function of the police may direct incidents away from the criminal justice system by mediating the conflict or separating the parties involved (Smith, D.A.,1987). Assault events are also directed away from the criminal justice system upon advising complainants to lay their own information. Should a participant decide not to pursue charges, the assault event essentially terminates.[12] For just over 7% of offenders, the assault event ended with police advising the complainant to lay his or her own information. Including these cases, 35% of all offenders were not charged (see Table 6.1). The remaining 65% of offenders were subsequently arrested and charged for their activities by police. Laying charges pulls the offender further into the criminal justice system (i.e. courts) stretching the temporal framework of the assault event and incorporating various other spatial and interpersonal dimensions.

Table 6.1: Offenders Not Charged (Including Lay Own Information) by Level of Assault

	ALL ASSAULTS	AGGRAV. ASSAULT	ASSAULT BOD. HARM	COMMON ASSAULT
No Charges	243 (79.4%)	43 (100.0%)	94 (91.3%)	106 (66.3%)
Lay Own Information	63 (20.6%)	0 (0%)	9 (8.7%)	54 (33.7%)
TOTAL:	306	43	103	160

Both the number of charges laid against offenders and the specific sections of the Criminal Code (hereafter abbreviated as C.C.) to which the charges pertain were recorded (for the first two charges laid).[13] Of the 563 offenders charged, the majority of charges were for those which conform to the three levels of assault (see Appendix One). Over 89% of offenders charged in assaults classified as aggravated were charged with Sec. 268 C.C., nearly 90% of offenders charged in assaults classified as level two were charged with the associated Sec. 267 C.C., and nearly 88% of offenders charged in incidents classified as common assault were charged with Sec. 266 C.C. The average number of charges (assault or otherwise) laid against offenders did not vary significantly across the three levels of assault.[14] Table 6.2 indicates the distribution of assault charges (on first charges only) within each level of assault.

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[12] At the same time that the assault event could be said to terminate, the long-term effects of the assault event never actually ends, as the experiences gained from this particular experience may be more permanently enscripted on one's interpretative repertoire(s) to be employed in the future.

Table 6.2: Assault Charge Distribution (First Charge Only) by Level of Assault

	ALL ASSAULTS	AGGRAV. ASSAULT	ASSAULT BOD. HARM	COMMON ASSAULT
Charges Laid:				
Sec. 268	**155** (28.9%)	**150** (91.5%)	**5** (2.3%)	**0**
Sec. 267	**229** (42.4%)	**9** (5.5%)	**205** (95.3%)	**15** (9.3%)
Sec. 266	**156** (28.9%)	**5** (3.0%)	**5** (2.3%)	**146** (90.7%)
Total:	**540**	**164**	**215**	**161**

Once criminal charges are laid, police involvement with the offender typically ends, unless the police are brought before the courts as witnesses if the case proceeds that far. The Crown Prosecutor assesses the evidence gathered by police in order to determine if a particular case may be adequately made before a judge that the incident was in fact criminal. Incorporated in the Crown Prosecutor's decision to take a case before a judge is not only the evidence presented by police, but also an assessment of the cooperation of participants involved should the case go before the courts. If the Crown Prosecutor decides against pursuing charges for whatever reasons, the Crown (Prosecutor) may choose to withdraw the charges which were earlier laid by police. The Crown Prosecutor's decision to withdraw charges essentially frees the accused of any formal accusation of wrongdoing and there is no record of the incident noted on the accused's criminal record.[15] Decisions to withdraw a charge (or charges) are made prior to the defendant making a plea.

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[13] If an offender was charged with a number of Criminal Code sections, those immediately relevant to the assault were the charges recorded and tracked through the courts.

[14] Aggravated assault offenders averaged 2.0 charges, 1.9 charges for level two offenders and 1.5 charges for common assault offenders

If the Crown feels that the evidence may be or is strong enough to establish a particular incident as criminal, the decision is made to bring the case before a judge. A plea by the accused is entered, and the judge proceeds to evaluate the evidence. The judge, however, may not necessarily concur with the decision of the Crown that the evidence is sufficient to warrant conviction on the charge before the court. If the judge believes that the documents before the court are in some way inadequate or insufficient, the judge may dismiss the charges prior to the case going to trial. If a case is dismissed, no record of conviction is noted on the accused's criminal record. Because the rationale for dismissing cases is inadequacy of documents, charges may be relaid by police pending further investigation.

On the other hand, a judge may also rule to discharge the accused. In this case the accused comes before the court and enters a guilty plea. The judge accepts the plea but determines that extenuating circumstances associated with the incident may in some sense relieve the accused of full responsibility for his or her actions. In effect, the judge may discharge an accused if the circumstances surrounding the assault appear to have almost justified the actions of the accused. Based on the evidence before them, judges may determine that the discharge is to be either conditional or absolute. For conditional discharges, the judge typically sentences the accused to a probationary or suspended sentence. If the probationary term passes without incident, the conviction is removed from the accused's criminal record. If the judge decides to discharge the accused absolutely, there are no probationary conditions attached and there is no conviction registered on the accused's criminal record.

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[15] At the same time, involvement with the local police service,regardless of one's role played in a particular incident (i.e. offender, victim or witness), is recorded and remains on the police service's data base.

A judge may also issue a "stay of proceedings". As with both dismissals and discharges, accuseds come before the judge and enter a plea. The judge assesses the various extenuating circumstances surrounding the case and may issue a stay of proceedings in order to allow the accused, essentially, "time to get his or her act together". If the accused was found to be in a particularly stressful situation, or was acting in an uncharacteristic manner (as suggested by his or her prior behaviour and criminal record), the judge may allow the defendant time to improve upon his or her situation and come back to the court at a later date for a final disposition. Stay of proceedings are not registered as convictions on an individual's criminal record.[16]

In the short term, dismissals, absolute discharges and stay of proceedings essentially have similar effects on the accused, such that charges are not immediately dealt with (although in the case of dismissals and stay of proceedings, may be considered at a later time) or are not dealt with any further (i.e. absolute discharges). On the other hand, the judge may find the accused guilty and issue a conviction having perhaps a more substantial impact, at the very least in terms of registering as a conviction on the individual's criminal record. Monetary fines may be imposed, for example. Convictions may also consist of community service work, probationary or suspended sentences, or incarceration.

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[16] It is important to note that charges brought before the court are indeed registered on an individual's criminal record, but may not necessarily be registered as convictions. We tend to think of criminal records as recording only those charges for which convictions are made. Criminal records for Canadian citizens are in fact divided into two sections, the first indicating charges for which a conviction is registered, and the second indicating charges that came before a court but for which the accused did not receive a conviction. Common usage of "criminal record" refers to the conviction portion of the criminal record only. Thus, regardless of whether criminal charges are met with convictions, a record indeed exists which documents criminal activity known to and brought before the courts. This distinction has (potentially) very important consequences for the accused. Knowing that an offender has had many charges brought before the courts, but with few resulting in convictions, may indicate to police, judges and Crown Prosecutors (all of whom have access to an accused's criminal record) not only the skill of the offender's lawyers in avoiding conviction, but past charges may in fact be a better indicator of an offender's criminal propensity than simply a consideration of convictions alone. Charges brought before the courts which do not result in conviction are equally as important as those resulting in conviction, because each charge before the courts, certainly from a policing perspective, suggests that a crime did indeed occur, as the laying of a charge by a police officer is evidence of the officer's evaluation of the suspect's guilt.

No charges were laid against just over 35% of all offenders. The largest proportion of offenders not charged were common assault offenders, with just under half (49%) not charged. Of offenders not charged, nearly 34% were not charged as a result of police advice (to complainant's) to lay own information. While 31% of offenders involved in level two assault were not charged, nearly 9% of charges not laid were a result of police advice (to complainants) to lay their own information (see Table 6.1 for break-down). While 20% of offenders involved in aggravated assault were not charged, none of these incidents involved police advice to lay own information. Nearly 60% of all offenders were charged with assault charges: 73% of aggravated assault offenders, 64% of level two offenders and nearly 47% of common assault offenders. Table 6.3 summarizes these findings.

Table 6.3: Summary of Offender Charges by Type of Assault

OFFENDER SUMMARY:	ALL ASSAULTS	AGGRAV. ASSAULT	ASSAULT BOD. HARM	COMMON ASSAULT
Not Charged:	**306** (35.2%)	**43** (20.4%)	**103** (31.1%)	**160** (48.9%)
Total assault charges (1st charge):	**540** (59.7%)	**164** (73.0%)	**215** (64.0%)	**161** (46.8%)
Other charges:	**23** (2.6%)	**4** (1.9%)	**13** (3.9%)	**6** (1.8%)
Total offenders:	**869** (100.0%)	**211** (24.3%)	**331** (38.1%)	**327** (37.6%)

Table 6.4 summarizes final dispositions by the most serious type of assault charge laid, rather than by assault category.[17] Dismissals, absolute discharges and stays of proceedings are grouped into one category. Included within this category are those found by the judge to be not guilty.[18] Fines and community service[19] are grouped together, as are probation and suspended sentences. Some offenders are sentenced in more than one way. Those who received combined sentences of either fines, community service, probation or suspended sentences are grouped together. Those who received a sentence of imprisonment with a combination of either fines, community service, probation and suspended sentences are placed into a seventh category.[20] A final category indicates the number of persons for whom charges were laid, but for whom final dispositions were not reached and warrants for arrest were issued.

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[17] The recorded information pertains to the sentence received on the listed charge only. If, for example, three charges were laid against a suspect, only the first charge is considered here. This suggests that if a person was dismissed on a charge of aggravated assault (Sec. 268), a conviction may indeed have been incurred on a remaining charge. In effect, the registering of a charge withdrawn, dismissed, discharged or stayed should not necessarily be inferred to suggest that an individual received no substantive criminal sanction. The disposition listed above refers only to the first charge laid, and not to the total experience of the suspect before the courts.

[18] Of the 167 offenders included in this category, 63 were dismissed (S. 268 - 18 were dismissed, S. 267 - 27 dismissed and S. 266 - 18 dismissed), 40 received absolute discharges (S. 268 - 13 discharged, S.267 - 22 discharged and S. 266, 5 discharged, 18 were found not guilty (S. 268 - 9, S. 267 - 7, S. 266 - 2) and 43 received stays of proceedings (S. 268 - 23, S. 267 - 16, and S. 266 - 4).

[19] Only three offenders received community service work as their only sentence (others receiving community service sentences received them in combination with other sentences).

[20] These sentences are essentially rank-ordered in terms of least to most severe. The basis upon which I ranked these sentences was derived from Kapardis and Farrington (1981), as well as the recommendations of the Canadian Sentencing Commission (*Sentencing - Directions for Reform*, 1990).

Table 6.4: Final Dispositions for Assault Charges[21]

Disposition:	**ALL ASSAULT CHARGES:**	**(AGGRAV. ASSAULT) SEC. 268**	**(ASSAULT BOD. HARM) SEC. 267**	**(COMMON ASSAULT) SEC. 266**
Charge Withdrawn	104 (20.0%)	20 (13.7%)	42 (18.8%)	42 (28.0%)
Dism./Disch./Stay	167 (32.2%)	65 (44.5%)	72 (32.3%)	30 (20.0%)
Fines/Comm. Service	50 (9.6%)	2 (1.4%)	22 (9.9%)	26 (17.3%)
Probation/Susp.Sent.	48 (9.2%)	6 (4.1%)	22 (9.9%)	20 (13.3%)
Imprisonment	72 (13.9%)	32 (21.9%)	27 (12.1%)	13 (8.7%)
Comb.Sent. (excl. imprsn.)	23 (4.4%)	2 (1.4%)	15 (6.7%)	6 (4.0%)
Comb.Sent. (incl. imprsn.)	38 (7.3%)	16 (11.0%)	11 (4.9%)	11 (7.3%)
Warrant	17 (3.3%)	3 (2.1%)	12 (5.4%)	2 (1.3%)
TOTAL:	519[22] (100.0%)	146 (28.1%)	223 (43.0%)	150 (28.9%)

For persons charged with Sec. 266 (common assault), 267 (assault causing bodily harm) and 268 (aggravated assault), 20% of these charges were withdrawn by the Crown prior to the case going before the courts. The proportion of charges withdrawn increases as the severity of the assault decreases. While nearly 14% of suspects charged with aggravated assault had their charges withdrawn, nearly 19% of level two charges were withdrawn, and 28% of common assault charges were withdrawn.

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[21] A suspect has at his or her disposal, the option of pleading guilty to a lesser offence (plea-bargaining). For example, a suspect may be charged with S. 268, but may plead guilty to the lesser charge of S. 267. This occurred in 38 of the 519 charges noted. While none of the suspects charged with S. 266 pled guilty to a lesser offense, 32 of those charged with S. 267 and 6 charged with S. 268 pled guilty to a lesser offense. I have not, however, for the purposes of this presentation, included the thirty-two S. 267 lesser-offense pleas with the S. 266 charges, nor have I included the six S. 268 lesser-offense pleas with the S. 267 charges.

[22] As per Table One, 155 offenders were charged with S. 268. Similarly, 229 offenders were charged with S. 267 as their most serious assault charge, and 156 were charged with S. 266 as their most serious assault charge. Of the 540 persons charged with assault offenses, final dispositions were determined for 519 of this total (for S.268, 9 dispositions could not be determined, for S.267, 6 dispositions could not be determined, and for S. 266, 6 dispositions could not be determined).

The proportions of offenders dismissed, discharged or to whom stays of proceedings are allocated differs markedly with level of assault. Despite the evidence (i.e. injury to victim) seemingly more apparent as assault severity increases, the proportions of offenders dismissed increases with assault severity. With reference to establishing a conviction of Sec. 268 (aggravated assault), Martin's Criminal Code (1994: 439) states the following: "The Crown must not only prove a causal connection between the assault and the resultant harm or danger to complainant but must demonstrate the objective foresight of the risk of wounding, maiming, disfiguring or endangering the life of the complainant, that is, whether a reasonable person would inevitably have realized that the assault would subject another to the risk of one of those enumerated results". It appears that this is a task of some difficulty, as the largest proportion of dismissals, discharges and stays are for aggravated assault charges, with over 44% of such charges dealt with in this manner. These proportions decrease with assault severity, with 32% of level two charges and 20% of common assault charges dismissed, discharged or stayed.

Predictably, common assault charges are far more likely to be met with the less severe sentences consisting of fines and community service, 17%, compared to nearly 10% of level two charges and 1.3% of aggravated assault charges.[23] A similar pattern exists for convictions resulting in probation or suspended sentences, with 4% of aggravated assault charges, nearly 10% of level two charges and over 13% of level one charges receiving these sentences. Aggravated assault charges are more likely to be met with dispositions of imprisonment (nearly 22%), than are level two charges (12%) or common assault charges (nearly 9%). A clear pattern does not exist for combined sentences which exclude imprisonment. Combined sentences including imprisonment are most common for aggravated assault charges (11%), but common assault charges appear more likely (7%) than level two charges (5%) to receive these combined dispositions.

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[23] The range of fines for assault charges varied, but not necessarily in a predictable direction. While the lowest fine noted was for a charge of common assault (S. 266), $40, the highest fine was $1500 for level two assault (S. 267).

Conclusion

An examination of the aftermath of the criminal event brings, for the most part, few surprises with respect to the outcomes of assaultive incidents as initially defined by police.[24] Victim injury increases with assault severity, and the same variables related to assault severity appear also to be related to victim injury. The anomalous finding with regard to victim injury, however, is in the extent of injury by victim-offender relationship, as well as the extent of injury by sex of victim. In contrast to what is noted with reference to domestic assault, there appears to be very little difference between injuries incurred in domestic (intimate) assault and assaults occurring amongst strangers. While the primary victims of intimate assault are females, the primary victims of stranger assault are males. At the same time, the proportions of female victims involved in aggravated assault, the most severe assault, are substantially less than the proportion of male victims. Because injury is the same between males and females, one would expect that the proportions of male and female victims involved in aggravated assault would also be the same. Although there was little difference in the extent of injury incurred between males and females, the proportion of injured males who receive medical treatment is much larger than the proportion of injured females.

These findings are difficult to interpret, but may involve the requests of victims, as well as perceptions of the investigating officers. Those involved in intimate relationships may be less inclined to request that charges be brought against their intimate assailants (see, for example, Smith and Klein, 1984). Perhaps these requests may influence police decision-making as to the classification of the event, resulting in charging offenders with common assault rather than the more serious assault levels. As well, should charges be laid in such cases, it may be that charges are perceived (by police) as more likely to "stick" in court for lower levels of assault regardless of the extent of victim injury.

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[24] Policing definitions inform the way the incidents are classified, and thus are the basis upon which the cases were drawn for this study.

My assessment of the impact of victim injury relates primarily to offender-victim relationship as gleaned through anecdotal information (VSU). While conclusions drawn from such limited data must be viewed with caution, the findings are again suggestive of the duality of assault that remains an underlying theme of my analyses. Perhaps references to the physical ramifications of stranger assault are indicative of the degree to which assault by strangers may be more likely to be interpreted by many victims as simply the physical impingement of one body upon another. In contrast, references that go beyond physical injury to psychological explanations and motivations suggest that assaults occurring between parties who know each other (at least to some degree) may be indicative of the symbolic or psychical impingement of one body upon another. This again suggests that perhaps the symbolic preserves of the body (self) are accessible primarily, although not exclusively, to intimates. While strangers may indeed transgress the symbolic (psychological) barrier of the body, perhaps stranger assault is most easily understood not in symbolic terms, but rather in the more objective terms provided by reference to physical injury. Assault occurring among those who are more intimate may be more likely to be interpreted as a transgression of the access an individual allows an intimate to his or her symbolic body, thus assessment of the assault and victim recovery may tend also to refer to that particular (symbolic) preserve in addition to the physical body.[25]

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[25] In order to further assess the degree to which assaultive behaviour by intimates versus strangers differs, as well as the varying interpretations of these events with regard to either symbolic (psychic) or physical impingement on the bod. differs, a potentially useful method would be to examine Victim Impact Statements. These statements are generated by victims (typically at the request of the Crown?) and explicate the effects that their victimization has had on their lives. While some of these statements

The aftermath of assault from the position of the offender is highlighted by way of sentencing dispositions. Again, as could be expected, the more serious assault charges are met with the most severe sentencing dispositions. The likelihood of being imprisoned for participation in aggravated assault is substantially higher than the likelihood of imprisonment for common assault. The probability of imprisonment for aggravated assault is influenced, undoubtedly, by the proportions of aggravated assault offenders who have criminal records, the vast majority of whom do. At the same time, aggravated assault charges (Sec. 268) are more likely than the other assault charges to result in dismissal, discharge or stay of proceedings. Many more common assault (Sec. 266) charges are withdrawn than are aggravated assault (Sec. 268) charges. This may suggest that despite the difficulty in getting common assault charges to court, once they have proceeded to court, they are more likely to result in a more substantive conviction than a discharge, dismissal or stay of proceedings. Thus while a greater proportion of aggravated assault charges make it to court, the likelihood of a substantive conviction (meaning a fine, community service, probation or incarceration) is somewhat less than for common assault charges.

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were included in the files under review, access to these documents is denied to all persons (including investigating police officers) save representatives of the court.

Chapter Seven: The Assault Event Revisited

In the course of this study, I have insisted that assault consists of a variety of dimensions, each of which attention must be paid in order to attempt to grasp the complexity of this form of criminal behaviour. However "basic" (as discussed in Chapter One) assault is to other crimes of violence, my analysis suggests that assault, perhaps like most other phenomenon, may in fact be deceptively basic if not understood within a criminal event perspective. The event perspective draws attention to the multifaceted nature of criminal behaviour -- assault cannot be understood in terms of the offender alone, or the victim alone. My distinction between situated and situational characteristics implied by the event perspective indeed suggests that a number of factors are important in fully examining the assault event. At the same time, assault can not be adequately understood only in terms of the exchange between participants. As my results have shown, all of these elements are important to most fully appreciating the assault event.

My expectations of this study are that knowledge of and about assault will clearly be advanced, and subsequent examinations of similar behaviours will be positively informed by my findings. By way of concluding this exercise, I therefore first consider certain findings introduced earlier in this presentation (Chapter Four), and the implications these findings have for subsequent research. I then turn to a more general discussion of the event perspective and structuration theory. The issues underlying assault are then re-examined and the (event) perspective used to organize the data is (re)considered. I conclude with directions for future research.

What is Assault?

My distinction between the situated and situational characteristics of assault highlights the variable temporal orientations incorporated within the assault event.

Situated and situational characteristics essentially provide the context (background and foreground, respectively) upon which the assaultive exchange takes place. While it was determined that specific characteristics of offenders, victims, and place are associated with assaultive outcome, my data suggests that assaults are not exclusively the product of uncontrolled offenders, or vulnerable victims. As well, both situated and situational elements of persons and place are correlated with assaultive activity, suggesting the importance of analyzing variable contexts.

I reiterate a number of findings with regard to the situated and situational elements of assault (Chapter Four). First, the large proportions of natives involved in assault, as both victims and offenders, obviously requires further investigation. While the data presented here cannot adequately address the question of policing bias in recording assaults involving natives, clearly the marginalization of the native population from mainstream society and the involvement of natives in very serious assaults necessitates research that goes well beyond the parametres of the policing data used here. Specifically, research into the impact of structural position and the subsequent development of various interpretative repertoires associated with structural position is essential in assessing the large proportions of native involvement in assault. Second, clearly the large proportions of assaults committed both by strangers (typically against men) and by intimates (typically against women) suggests that the boundaries between bodies (in terms of personal freedom and integrity) are both gendered and far from self-evident. An examination of perceptions of freedom and integrity as they relate to relationships and gender may help to clarify the misunderstandings that appear so evident and, as well, are so typically committed by males. Third, the primary locations of assault, both residences and public access locations (street, parking lot, etc.), again point to the inadequate demarcation and negotiation of the boundaries of public and private behaviour. Investigation as to the perceptions of fear, safety, freedom and integrity as they relate to physical location (and to persons typically found within these locations) may alleviate the problematic nature of public and private and, perhaps, the problematic nature of the relationships found within these locations. Finally, the evidence as it relates to criminal record suggests that individuals (both offenders and victims) repeatedly involve themselves in conflict situations leading to assault. This finding suggests that individuals, both those with and without criminal records, may be in grave need of learning alternatives to physical aggression when faced with conflict. An examination of the past experiences of individuals, in terms of their family, school, work and leisure lives, would go far in assessing the interpretative repertoires to which these individuals may be referring, and may therefore lead to the possibility of beneficially creating new repertoires through an emphasis on conflict management strategies.

Structuring the Assault Event

Luckenbill's (1977; Luckenbill and Doyle, 1989) theory of situated transactions is attractive in that it emphasizes that which makes intuitive sense -- violent transactions as a sequence of action/reaction between offender and victim and, in some cases, audience. The stages of naming (upset), claiming and aggressing clearly provide a structure by which to analyze the process of assault. I argue, however, that assaults may in fact conform only loosely to this structure, and that the specifics of assaultive exchanges -- angry verbal exchanges to physical shoves -- are far more complex than this structure suggests. In particular, rather than progressing from upset to aggressing, I often found what appeared to be aggressing first, and claiming later. In other cases there appeared to be a volley of exchanges that did not necessarily suggest an increasing likelihood of aggression, but rather some of these exchanges served, at least momentarily, to discourage aggression. These variable exchanges mean that individuals may not automatically identify specific actions (or verbalizations) within an event as conflict, but may take some time in coming to this definition of the situation. This volley of exchanges suggests not only that an assaultive exchange may include various "subtexts" within an event, but also that during the course of an assaultive exchange participants may try to fit, and often discard, whatever interpretative frameworks are at their disposal to the situation at hand.

Given that particular exchanges within the assault event both discourage and encourage aggression, conflict may not conform to the linear assumptions associated with the naming, claiming and aggressing structure. Rather than a linear process, assaultive exchanges may in fact be most similar to a spiral process.[1] My conclusion contradicts other research findings with regard to naming, claiming and blaming. Kennedy and Forde (1995), for example, found that in their use of scenarios, respondents explained their (hypothetical) behaviour in terms that directly correspond to the linear structure implied by these three stages. My data, on the other hand, suggest that actual behaviour within a conflict situation is far more complex. In other words, what we think we might do may not be a great indicator of what we would do. It is difficult to know how much the different methodologies employed (scenarios, versus witness reconstruction) account for the observed differences. It appears, however, that what we have done in the past may be the best indicator of what we may do in the future, as our experiences become part of the interpretative repertoires to which we refer, and thus the scripted behaviours that we enact.[2] At the same time, however, the perceived effectiveness of past strategies (i.e. scripts) will determine whether similar scripts are used in future situations.

The scripts employed in the handling of conflict situations are a product of both individual experience as well as socialization. Structuration theory suggests that scripts are the link between individual action and structure, with scripts being the means by which time and space are linked. Scripts therefore tie the past (experience) with the present (situation). The scripts that a society's people employ are not unlimited. Although our individual experiences may vary, these experiences are embedded within a larger, shared structural framework. Thus the process of assaultive interactions suggest broad generalizability within a particular social structure. The interpretative repertoires to which we refer, and from which various scripts emerge, are a product of both our individual experiences and the structural context within which these experiences take place. Scripts will be differentially invoked depending upon the situated and situational cues that individuals perceive as significant. What is perceived as significant again varies by individual experience. Limited experience, however, places limitations on interpretative repertoires, the result of which is a reduced set of scripts. Tedeschi's and Felson's (1994) observation that assertive self-presentation tends to be transituational, suggests that individuals who employ such tactics are limited in their experiential foundations, and therefore fail to distinguish between situations -- situated and situational cues are of less relevance in determining how one should react.

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[1] The spiral nature of assault will be taken up below in my discussion of the event perspective itself.

[2] Previous experience as the guide to future experience is suggested by way of the large proportion of offenders (and victims) who have previously been involved in assault, as indicated by their criminal records.

Barley (1986) explains that an examination of scripts is suggestive of underlying themes that are integrally connected to structure. The scripts examined here ranged from requests for apologies to physical or gestural actions. In each case, the scripts employed are an attempt to "restore the occasioned order" -- attempts are made to restore (or create) the situation to one that the offended party finds acceptable. In the case of assault, which is, by definition, the actual or threatened imposition of one body upon another, the scripts employed ensure that one's body (and more broadly, the image of self) is neither *imposed upon* (i.e. in cases of protective self-presentation), or that one's body/self may *impose upon* (i.e. in the case of assertive self-presentation). Thus, scripts reflect the duality introduced in the first Chapter, with the issues underlying assaultive behaviour that of personal integrity and personal freedom. Every assault situation deals with these two issues, and revolves around the attempt by persons, both offender and victim, to establish the (symbolic and physical) boundaries of personal freedom and personal integrity. At the same time that my analysis examines the dual issues of freedom and integrity, the analysis also points to the variable and changing impact that each of these issues has for both offenders and victims within a single assault situation. Far from offenders concerning themselves exclusively with freedom and victims with integrity, my analysis points to the complex management of these issues for both participants.

The metaphors and phrases employed by participants in assault suggest that recurrent themes found within the assault narratives speak to the more general assumptions our society holds regarding personal integrity and personal freedom. Standardized metaphors found throughout the assault narratives suggest a sort of cultural complicity when it comes to assessing one's own and an other's participation in assault. As explained in Chapter Five, metaphors reduce the cognitive work of both those who use them and others who hear them. The metaphors used in explaining assault are suggestive of attempts to illustrate how it is that one has been violated and how the other party is culpable for his or her actions against oneself. The typical interpretation is that the other has, in fact, overstepped his (or her) right to personal freedom. Rarely are assaults explained in terms of one's own actions, nor are the metaphors employed suggestive of one's own responsibility in the final outcome. Thus, despite the frequency with which we might encounter conflict (although not necessarily escalating to assault), our culture provides a means of accounting for participation that places responsibility for the negative outcome primarily on the shoulders of the other, regardless of whether one is speaking from the perspective of victim or offender.

The Issues Underlying Assault

I have introduced a number of the issues associated with assaultive behaviour in dualistic terms: personal freedom and personal integrity; intent and consent; competence and power. I have also suggested that if arranged on a continuum, these various issues would tend to cluster at polar ends. For example, the issues of personal freedom, intent (the imposition of will), and power, appear to be clustered at one end of the continuum, while personal integrity, consent and competence appear clustered at the other end. This is not to suggest that assaultive situations deal only with one or the other ends of these polarities. Rather, each assault event addresses all of these issues, but the relevance of any of these issues will depend upon the particular perspective under consideration, i.e. that of offender versus victim, and will vary within any particular transaction.

Above all else, the identified issues speak to and identify assault (and other forms of interpersonal violence) as a case study of the social contract. Personal integrity, the freedom from being done to, and personal freedom, the freedom to do, directly encapsulates the essence of the social contract. The social contract assumes an understanding between individuals of the (symbolic and physical) boundaries and limitations surrounding bodies/self. However, the very fact of assaultive behaviour and other forms of interpersonal violence suggest that how and where the boundaries between ourselves and others are drawn are in fact far more tenuous and situationally variable than many of us imagine them to be. Rather than the boundaries between individuals clearly drawn, assaultive activity suggests that these boundaries are under continual negotiation, and are not necessarily predefined. Clearly there is evidence that for males involved in assault, that boundaries between strangers are less clearly defined. However, for females involved in assaultive activity, the boundaries between intimates appear far more problematic. Relationships also obfuscate the issues of consent and intent, with transgression of the (physical or symbolic) body differentially interpreted depending upon relationship and assessment of the other's intent and (often) assumptions of consent.

Admittedly, my view of the social contract and the problematic negotiation of boundaries between individuals is somewhat negatively tainted by the nature of the data under consideration. In every case I considered, conflict, and the negotiation of social contract issues (freedom and integrity), was indeed problematic and resulted in (at the very least, threatened) physical violence. Had my study incorporated incidents of conflict that did not result in either threats of or actual physical violence, I would likely not identify these issues as being *so* problematic, at least, perhaps, for many individuals involved in conflict. Obviously, not all conflict results in assaultive activity and the involvement of the police.[3]

(Re)Assessing the Criminal Event Perspective

The criminal event perspective provides an orienting framework to what I have determined are the temporal, spatial and interpersonal dimensions, as well as the precursors, transaction and aftermath of assault (Sacco and Kennedy, 1994). The utility of the event perspective is that it draws attention to the multi-dimensionality of assault, each dimension of which must be recognized, if not addressed, to most fully understand a particular (criminal) phenomenon. Rather than the construction of a single model incorporating all three components (either the dimensions to which I refer or the temporal components that Sacco and Kennedy refer to), the event framework allows for the incorporation of different models and different theoretical explanations that differentially address each of the respective components of the assault event. Often, the expectation is that all components will be placed into a singular model, thereby determining which elements of the assault event are more or less "significant". Such a model would defeat the purpose of the event framework. In other words, precursors (situated and situational characteristics, in my terminology) are important in and of themselves, as is the transaction (interpersonal dimension) and the aftermath. A singular model incorporating all of these components would not only "flatten" the implied temporality, but misses the point of the event perspective, which is to consider the *evolution* of assault over time and through space.

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[3] On one occasion, after having read a particularly difficult set of cases, I was reminded to remember that I was considering cases that were certainly not average activity, and that not all people were as bad as those whom I was reading about. I found this advice particularly salient, as it came from a police officer with 30 years on the job, who, after having been exposed to many such cases, appeared confident in the inherent goodness of people, and, it appears, the ability of people to negotiate conflict non-violently.

As an orienting framework, the event perspective assumes a linear orientation. As my earlier analysis indicates (Chapter Five) and my above comments suggest, assault may be less linear than it is, in fact, spiral. The narratives of participants directly involved in assault suggest that their experiences (or at least their retelling) of the assaultive event does not necessarily progress neatly from point A to point B to point C. In Chapter Six, while I provide examples of possible measures of the aftermath of assault, both in terms of victim injury and offender sentencing, it may be that attempting to demarcate where (or how) an assault event actually ends is an exercise in futility and, perhaps, a non-issue. While there is a certain comfort in depicting and capturing the "before", "during" and "after" of an assaultive event through objective measures such as the ones used in Chapter Six, such attempts may also potentially constrain the analysis by simply juxtaposing context with context and thereby failing to incorporate and acknowledge the complexity of the assault event as it moves through time.

A full assessment of the aftermath of the assault event must therefore move beyond the parameters inherent in policing data. For while injuries heal and fines are paid, the assault event may not actually end for direct (and even indirect) participants. Policing data does not indicate, for example, if and whether the assault event remains in the minds of the participants, as they may now differentially refer to and invoke interpretative repertoires which have been altered and influenced by their experiences of assault in which they were recently involved. Both victims and offenders may recall certain assaultive experiences each time they are faced with similar, particularly memorable characteristics of that experience, thus recalling and essentially reliving and recreating their assaultive experience. Rather than experiencing similar future events as if for the first time, experiences become part of interpretative repertoires that are invoked at various times throughout one's life experiences. In other words, the experience of assault is a learning experience differentially etched upon the minds of participants. Memory and experience may therefore prevent an assaultive event from ever actually ending. Thus, the conclusion of the assault event as suggested by my measurement of two aspects of the aftermath of assault may indeed suggest a form of finality to the assault event which is somewhat contrived and bound by linear assumptions.

I have conformed to the linear assumptions of the event perspective in my presentation of the data. However, if assaultive (and other) experiences remain etched upon the minds of participants, this suggests that the aftermath of one event represents the "precursor" stage of the next event. Because interpretative repertoires change with every new experience (if only slightly), these experiences form the basis of the next interaction. Thus while the event framework suggests linearity, the notion of scripts and interpretative repertoires suggests that precursors, interactions and aftermaths are perhaps most accurately framed as a spiral rather than as a linear process. Analyses that go beyond any specific event to include more events, would allow for the identification of the spiral rather than linear nature of experience.

Directions For Future Research

My elaboration of the event perspective and it's respective components suggests a framework that is best explored through a triangulation of both data and methods. In terms of a single data source, I believe that the police files I accessed are a superior source. Police files include at least some information with respect to all assault participants, and provide a means of piecing together the entire assault event. I can truly say that my time spent at the police station felt to me as though I had entered some sort of gold mine of information. Escaping into the police files and the individual assault cases allowed me access to worlds with which I have had (thankfully) little experience.

There are, however, certain limitations to using policing data as the exclusive data source. I have mentioned the inherent policing bias, whereby the details of any particular incident are the details that are relevant from a policing perspective, and not a sociological perspective. This prevented testing or adequately addressing many of the relevant criminological and sociological theories. Similarly, the policing focus appears to be on the details of the transaction, i.e. what the offender did, and does not necessarily incorporate a great deal of information that addresses the precursors of assault, and even less information addressing the aftermath.

Expanding the sources of data beyond police files to more explicitly address the components of the assault event, and conflict more generally, would ensure a better understanding of the entire process. The inclusion of non-assaultive conflict situations would provide a much-needed comparison group. Interviews with participants might enable the researcher to better understand the aftermath of assault. Specifically, victims and offenders could be interviewed with regard to their interpretations of the assaultive event in which they participated. Questions could be posed that might address how participants would behave differently (if they would at all), and thus how their experiences have altered the interpretive templates to which they will subsequently refer in the future. In terms of precursors to the assaultive event, knowledge of past experiences would allow for an assessment of the many situated characteristics that accompany individuals irrespective of particular situations. I am haunted by Brownstein's (1993) comments, that, as researchers, we continually measure what we are able to measure, rather than attempt to measure (or understand) that which is important. Thus, while sex, age and race may suggest various experiences, an attempt to determine what these past experiences are in conjunction with structural position would allow for the fullest possible understanding of why participants do what they do and how they come to be involved in the situations that they are.

Conclusion

In Chapter Two, I discussed how various criminological theories mesh with the overall framework provided by the criminal event perspective. Through these theories, various correlates of assault were deduced and subsequently examined in Chapter Four, under the auspices of situated and situational factors of assault. Here I demonstrated that a number of factors, each of which variously address temporal and spatial dimensions, should be considered in order to paint the fullest picture of assault. In Chapter Five, I suggested that while assault conforms to a process, the process may in fact be more spiral than linear, and that the content of this process appears to be influenced by the factors discussed in Chapter Four. The findings of Chapters Four and Five suggest that while assault may in fact conform to a certain (spiral or linear) process, the content of any specific assault may be more (or less) complex than this process suggests and is influenced by the specific factors impinging upon a particular incident. These factors may be pertinent to either or any participant or may have to do with place in which assault occurs. Structuration theory may provide the means by which the dimensions of the assault event are most adequately pulled together.

Throughout this exercise, I have endeavoured to present assault as a phenomenon that, in terms of certain characteristics, is both predictable and at the same time "open" to the suggestions and contingencies of experience, time and space. During the course of data collection and writing, various ideas and points have emerged as more or less important to understanding the assault event. Much the same, I expect, as assault witnesses (re)create the assault incident through the course of their writing it. Each perspective, whether that of direct or indirect participant, or researcher, requires a certain amount of "creation". Whether guided by theory or guided by (direct or indirect) involvement, "facts" never speak for themselves, but only speak through those who attend to them as such. My hope, however, is that the "facts" to which I have attended have created both a plausible representation of and enable understanding the assault event.

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Appendix One

Section 266, s. 267, and s. 268 constitute the three levels of non-sexual assault as specified in the Criminal Code (1993). Section 265 serves the purpose of defining assaultive behaviour more specifically and may be applied to any of the three levels of sexual or non-sexual assault.

265. (1) A person commits an assault when
(a) without the consent of another person, he applies force intentionally to that other person, directly or indirectly;
(b) he attempts or threatens, by an act or a gesture, to apply force to another person, if he has, or causes that other person to believe upon reasonable grounds that he has, present ability to effect his purpose; or
(c) while openly wearing or carrying a weapon or an imitation thereof, he accosts or impedes another person or begs.

(2) This section applies to all forms of assault, including sexual assault, sexual assault with a weapon, threats to a third party or causing bodily harm and aggravated assault.

(3) For the purposes of this section, no consent is obtained where the complainant submits or does not resist by reason of
(a) the application of force to the complainant or to a person other than the complainant;
(b) threats of fear of the application of force to the complainant to a person other than the complainant;
(c) fraud; or
(d) the exercise of authority.

(4) Where an accused alleges that he believed that the complainant consented to the conduct that is the subject-matter of the charge, a judge, if satisfied that there is sufficient evidence and that, if believed by the jury, the evidence would constitute a defence, shall instruct the jury, when reviewing all the evidence relating to the determination of the honesty of the accused's belief, to consider the presence or absence of reasonable grounds for that belief. R.S., c. C-34, s. 244; 1974-75-76, c. 93, s. 21; 1980-81-82-83, c. 125, s. 19.

266. Every one who commits an assault is guilty of
(a) an indictable offence and liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding five years; or
(b) an offence punishable on summary conviction. R. S., c. C-34, s. 245; 1972, c. 13, s. 21; 1974-75-76, c. 93, s.22; 1980-81-82-83, c. 125, s. 19.

267. (1) Every one who, in committing an assault,
(a) carries, usesor threatens to use a weapon or imitation thereof, or

(b) causes bodily harm to the complainant, is guilty of an indictable offence and liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding ten years.

(2) For the purposes of this section and sections 269 and 272, "bodily harm" means any hurt or injury to the complainant that interferes with the health or comfort of the complainant and that is more than merely trifling or transient in nature. (1980-81-82-83, c. 125, s. 19.

268. (1) Every one commits an aggravated assault who wounds, maims, disfigures or endangers the life of the complainant.

(2) Every one who commits an aggravated assault is guilty of an indictable offence and liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding fourteen years. 1980-81-82-83, c. 125, s. 19.

Appendix Two

OCCURRENCE TYPE

20140	Assault Aggravated
20141	Assault - BH/NW
20142	Assault - BH/W
20145	Assault
10110	Sexual Assault - Aggravated
10115	Sexual Assault - Weapon
10120	Sexual Assault

OCCURRENCE DESCRIPTORS

1. Occurrence Address: ____________________
2. EPS Zone: _ (EPD printout)
3. EPS PD: _ _ (EPD printout)
4. EPS Grid (block code): _ _ _ _ (EPD printout)
5. Occurrence date: _ _ / _ _ / _ _ (year/month/day)
6. Day of the week:

1	Sunday
2	Monday
3	Tuesday
4	Wednesday
5	Thursday
6	Friday
7	Saturday

7. Estimated occurrence start time: _ _ _ _ (24 hour clock)
8. Estimated occurrence duration: _ _ _ _ to _ _ _ _ (24 hour clock)
9. Investigation date: _ _ / _ _ / _ _ (year/month/day)
10. Time incident reported/called in: _ _ _ _ (24 hour clock)
11. Time police arrived on scene: _ _ _ _ (24 hour clock)
12. Investigation duration: _ _ _ _ to _ _ _ _ (EPD printout)
13. Method of police mobilization:

0	no information
1	complainant called 911
2	accused called 911
3	witness called 911
4	participant directly contacted police
5	direct police observation
6	social services
7	other (specify) ______________
9	not applicable

14. Total # witnesses: _ _ (as reported on EPD R1 form, excluding police witnesses)
15. # Witness statements included in case file: _ _
16. Total # police witnesses: _ _
17. Total # people directly witnessing and/or participating in the occurrence: _ _ (including accused, complainant, witnesses, etc., excluding witnesses in capacity of reporters)
18. Other than direct participants (q. 17 above), were there others in the immediate vicinity, who did not directly participate in or witness the occurrence?

0	no information
2	no
1	yes (If yes, estimate of # people: _ _)

19a. Charges laid:
  1 yes
  2 no (go to q. 20)
19b. If yes. # people charged: _ _ (99=NA)
20. Case status: (at date of coding)
  1 cleared by charge
  2 cleared otherwise
  3 not cleared
  4 unfounded
  5 other (specify) _______________
21a. Physical location:
  01 house
  02 duplex
  03 row or townhouse
  04 apartment
  05 house attached to non-residential structure
  06 private yard/grounds to residence
  07 garage/driveway
  08 apartment building
  09 motor vehicle
  10 parking lot
  11 public transit
  12 street. road or highway
  13 alley
  14 sidewalk
  15 bar or night club
  16 work place - office
  17 work place - other (specify) _______________
  18 commercial building - store
  19 commercial building - restaurant/pub
  20 commercial building - hotel or motel
  21 commercial building - theatre
  22 commercial building - sports facility
  23 public facility - school
  24 public facility - library
  25 public facility - museum
  26 outdoor recreational area - park or bike trail
  27 outdoor recreational area - other
  28 other (specify) _______________

Is the location (i.e. residence. workplace or motor vehicle) the:
21b. complainant's?
  1 yes
  2 no
  9 not applicable
21c. accused's?
  1 yes
  2 no
  9 not applicable
21d. a witness's?
  1 yes
  2 no
  9 not applicable

21e. If a residence, do complainant and accused both reside here?
- 0 no information
- 1 yes
- 2 no
- 9 not applicable

21f. If a residence, estimate of # persons residing at this location:
__ (including participants)

21g. Specific (initial) setting within above (q. 21a) location:
- 00 no information
- 01 bedroom
- 02 bathroom/washroom/changeroom
- 03 kitchen
- 04 dining room
- 05 bar
- 06 living room/t.v. room
- 07 entry way/foyer
- 08 stairway/well
- 09 hallway
- 10 reception area
- 11 individual office
- 12 office work area
- 13 other (specify) ______________
- 99 not applicable

22a. Type of occasion for AC:
- 0 no information
- 1 work-related (specify) ____________
- 2 home-related (specify) ____________
- 3 leisure-related (specify) ____________
- 4 incidental (specify) ____________
- 5 other (specify) ____________

22b. Type of occasion for CO: _ (coded as q. 22a above)

22c. Was the type of occasion similar for the AC and CO?
- 0 no information
- 1 yes
- 2 no

23. Were the AC and CO participating in similar activities immediately prior to the assault?
- 0 no information
- 1 yes
- 2 no

Type(s) of activity(ies) AC was engaging in: (0=no information, 1=yes, 2=no, 9=NA)

24a. _ watching an event (theatre or movie)
24b. _ watching t.v.
24c. _ drinking alcohol/taking drugs
24d. _ dancing
24e. _ socializing or conversing
24f. _ walking
24g. _ working
24h. _ officiating/participating in sports activity
24i. _ shopping
24j. _ participating in a game or gambling activity (i.e. bingo or cards)
24k. _ driving
24l. _ eating

24m. _ ______________

24n. _ ______________

24o. _ ______________

Type(s) of activity(ies) CO was engaging in: (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=NA)

25a. _ watching an event (theatre or movie)

25b. _ watching t.v.

25c. _ drinking alcohol/taking drugs

25d. _ dancing

25e. _ socializing or conversing

25f. _ walking

25g. _ working

25h. _ officiating/participating in sports activity

25i. _ shopping

25j. _ participating in a game or gambling activity (i.e. bingo or cards)

25k. _ driving

25l. _ eating

25m. _ ______________

25n. _ ______________

25o. _ ______________

26. Description of police action taken:

____

____

____

Appendix Three

ACCUSED

1a. Date of birth: _ _ / _ _ / _ _ (year/month/day)

1b. Status:
- 1 adult
- 2 youth (under 18 years)

2. Sex:
- 1 male
- 2 female

3. Alias:
- 0 no information
- 1 yes
- 2 no

4. Home address: ________________________________

5a. Employment status at time of occurrence:
- 0 no information
- 1 employed
- 2 unemployed
- 3 retired
- 4 going to school
- 5 other (specify) _______________

5b. Employment type: _ _ _ _ (see attached coding sheets)
(_______________________________)

5c. If currently unemployed, length of time unemployed: _ _ (# weeks)

6. Race:
- 0 no information
- 1 white
- 2 Native Indian
- 3 black
- 4 East Indian
- 5 Oriental
- 6 Hispanic
- 7 Other (specify) _______________

7. Height: _ ' _ _ " (_ _ inches)

8. Weight: _ _ _ lbs

9a. Criminal record:
- 0 no information
- 2 no (go to next question)
- 1 yes

b. Date of earliest local charge:
_ _ / _ _ / _ _ (year/month/day)

c. If yes, # previous convictions on record:
_ _

d. If previously convicted, year of earliest conviction:
_ _ _ _

If yes, convictions consist of:
(1=yes, 2=no, 9=not applicable)

f. _ murder
g. _ sexual assault
h. _ robbery
i. _ break and enter
j. _ theft
k. _ abduction/assault

l. _ fraud
m. _ weapon
n. _ morality
o. _ sex offences
p. _ drugs
q. _ other criminal code
r. _ liquor
s. _ traffic
t. _ other
u. If previously convicted for assault. type of sentence(s) served?
____

10. Hair colour: __________
11. Hair length/type: __________
12. Facial hair:
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)
(If yes. describe: ______________________________________)
13. Marks/scars/tattoos:
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)
(If yes. describe: ______________________________________)
14. General appearance (i.e. physical presence. type of dress. mannerisms. facial expressions):
____
____

15. Relationship to victim (complainant):
_ _

[00	no information	09	child (son/daughter)
01	husband	10	other immed. family
02	wife	11	extended family
03	cohabiter	12	friend
04	boy/girlfriend	13	room-mate
05	ex-spouse	14	business associate
06	ex-cohabiter	15	casual acquaintance
07	sibling (brother/sister)	16	stranger
08	parent (mother/father)	99	N/A]

16. Relationship to witnesses/bystanders:
a. _ _ relationship to witness#1 (coded as above)
b. _ _ relationship to witness #2 (coded as above)
c. _ _ relationship to witness #3 (coded as above)
17. Marital status:
0 no information
1 single
2 married
3 common-law or live-in partner
4 divorced
5 separated
6 widowed
18a. Use of alcohol prior to incident:
_ (0=no information, 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)
18b. Indication of past alcohol abuse/problems:
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)
(If yes. explain: ______________________________________
____)
19a. Use of drugs prior to incident:
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

19b. Indication of past drug abuse/problems:
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)
(If yes. explain: ____
____)

Description of assault/action taken:

20. Was the AC FIRST to make a verbal or gestural threat. challenge or offensive comment?
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

21. Was the AC FIRST to take physical and/or violent action?
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

22a. verbal or gestural threat. challenge or offensive comment:
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

22b. sexual remarks. suggestions or demands:
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

22c. verbal or gestural threat or challenge with weapon:
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

22d. weapon used:
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

22e. If weapon used. type of weapon used:
1 firearm
2 club or blunt instrument
3 knife (cutting/piercing instrument)
4 combination of the above (specify) ____________________
9 not applicable

22f. physical assault/defense:
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

Type of physical assault/defense: (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)
22g. _ non-consensual (sexual) touching/molestation
22h. _ threw object/thing
22i. _ pushed. grabbed or shoved
22j. _ forcefully held arms/legs/body
22k. _ slapped
22l. _ kicked. bit or hit with a fist
22m. _ kicked. bit or hit with an object/weapon
22n. _ performed a specific sexual act (excluding penetration)
22o. _ forced another to perform a specific sexual act
22p. _ choked
22q. _ sexual penetration/intercourse

23. Description of accused's action:
____
____
____

24a. Physical injury sustained:
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

If physical injury sustained. nature of injuries:

24b. swelling. bruising to head and neck
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

24c. wounds to head and neck
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

24d. swelling. bruising to body
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

24e. wounds to body
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

24f. fractures, any site
_ (0=no information, 1=yes, 2=no, 9=not applicable)

24g. If yes, was physical injury serious enough to require medical treatment?
_ (0=no information, 1=yes, 2=no, 9=not applicable)

24h. If yes, physical injury was:
1 treated at scene
2 treated at scene by emergency medical personnel
3 treated at hospital and patient released
4 treated at hospital and patient detained in hospital due to injuries
5 not treated, party refused treatment
6 not immediately treated, party sought own medical attention
9 not applicable

25a. Statement given to police:
1 yes
2 no

25b. If yes, time statement was written/provided: _ _ _ _ (NA=9999)

25c. If yes, date statement was written/provided: _ _ / _ _ / _ _ (NA=99/99/99)

25d. If yes, place statement was written/provided:
0 no information
1 occurrence location
2 own residence (if different from occurrence location)
3 hospital
4 street
5 police station
6 other location (specify) ____________________
9 not applicable

26a. Number of charges laid against accused: _ _ (99=not applicable)

26b. First charge laid against accused: (#'s refer to CC Section. NA=999)
265 [former Sec. 244]
266 [former Sec. 245]
267 [former Sec. 245.1]
268 [former Sec. 245.2]
269 [former Sec. 245.3]
271 [former Sec. 246.1]
272 [former Sec. 246.2]
273 [former Sec. 246.3]
_ _ _ Other (specify: ______________________)

26b. Second charge laid against accused: (#'s refer to CC Section. NA=999)
_ _ _ Other (specify: ______________________)

26c. Third charge against accused: (#'s refer to CC Section. NA=999)
_ _ _ Other (specify: ______________________)

27. Place of arrest: _ (coded as per q. 25d above)

28. CPIC check:
0 no information
1 negative
2 hit
9 not applicable

29. Condition at time of arrest/police involvement:
(0=no information, 1=yes, 2=no, 9=not applicable)
a. _ sober/coherent
b. _ intoxicated
c. _ incoherent
d. _ injury/illness

e. _ hysterical
f. _ crying
g. _ other (specify) ____________________
30. Attitude or demeanour at time of arrest/police involvement:
(0=no information, 1=yes, 2=no, 9=not applicable)
a. _ boisterous
b. _ fighting (combatative, aggressive)
c. _ belligerent
d. _ cooperative
e. _ uncooperative
f. _ upset
g. _ other (specify) ____________________
31. Caution codes (time of arrest): (0=no information, 1=yes, 2=no, 9=not applicable)
a. _ violent
b. _ escape
c. _ mental
d. _ suicidal
33. Held in custody:
0 no information
1 yes
2 no
9 not applicable
34. Apparent motive:
____
____

35. Biographical information:
____
____
____

36. Comments made to officers:
____
____
____

37. Comments made by officers:
____
____
____

Appendix Four

COMPLAINANT:

1a. Date of birth: _ _ / _ _ / _ _ (year/month/day)

1b. Status:
1 adult
2 youth (under 18 years)

2. Sex:
1 male
2 female

3. Alias:
0 no information
1 yes
2 no

4. Home address: ______________________________

5a. Employment status at time of occurrence:
0 no information
1 employed
2 unemployed
3 retired
4 going to school
5 other (specify) ____________

5b. Employment type: _ _ _ _ (see attached coding sheets)
(________________________)

5c. If currently unemployed. length of time unemployed: _ _ (# weeks)

6. Race:
0 no information
1 white
2 Native Indian
3 black
4 East Indian
5 Oriental
6 Hispanic
7 Other (specify) ____________

7a. Criminal record:
0 no information
2 no (go to next question)
1 yes

b. Date of earliest local charge: _ _ / _ _ / _ _ (year/month/day)

c. If yes. # previous convictions on record: _ _

d. If previously convicted. year of earliest conviction:
_ _ _ _

If yes. convictions consist of:
(1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

f. _ murder
g. _ sexual assault
h. _ robbery
i. _ break and enter
j. _ theft
k. _ abduction/assault
l. _ fraud
m. _ weapon
n. _ morality
o. _ sex offences
p. _ drugs

q. _ other criminal code
r. _ liquor
s. _ traffic
t. _ other
u. If previously convicted for assault, type of sentence(s) served?

____

____

8. General appearance (i.e. physical presence, type of dress, mannerisms, facial expressions):

____

____

9. Relationship to accused:

_ _

[00	no information	09	child (son/daughter)
01	husband	10	other immed. family
02	wife	11	extended family
03	cohabiter	12	friend
04	boy/girlfriend	13	room-mate
05	ex-spouse	14	business associate
06	ex-cohabiter	15	casual acquaintance
07	sibling (brother/sister)	16	stranger
08	parent (mother/father)	99	N/A]

10. Relationship to witnesses/bystanders:
a. _ _ relationship to witness#1 (coded as above)
b. _ _ relationship to witness #2 (coded as above)
c. _ _ relationship to witness #3 (coded as above)

11. Marital status:

0	no information
1	single
2	married
3	common-law or live-in partner
4	divorced
5	separated
6	widowed

12a. Use of alcohol prior to incident:
_ (0=no information, 1=yes, 2=no, 9=not applicable)

12b. Indication of past alcohol abuse/problems:
_ (0=no information, 1=yes, 2=no, 9=not applicable)
(If yes, explain: ____
____)

13a. Use of drugs prior to incident:
_ (0=no information, 1=yes, 2=no, 9=not applicable)

13b. Indication of past drug abuse/problems:
_ (0=no information, 1=yes, 2=no, 9=not applicable)
(If yes, explain: ____
____)

Description of assault/action taken:

14. Was the CO FIRST to make a verbal or gestural threat, challenge or offensive comment?
_ (0=no information, 1=yes, 2=no, 9=not applicable)

15. Was the CO FIRST to take physical and/or violent action?
_ (0=no information, 1=yes, 2=no, 9=not applicable)

16. When attacked, did the CO fight back?
_ (0=no information, 1=yes, 2=no, 9=not applicable)

17a. verbal or gestural threat, challenge or offensive comment:
_ (0=no information, 1=yes, 2=no, 9=not applicable)

17b. verbal or gestural threat or challenge with weapon:
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

17c. weapon used:
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

17d. If weapon used. type of weapon used:
1 firearm
2 club or blunt instrument
3 knife (cutting/piercing instrument)
4 combination of the above (specify) ____________________
9 not applicable

17e. physical assault/defense:
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

Type of physical assault/defense:
(0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)
17f. _ threw something
17g. _ pushed. grabbed or shoved
17h. _ slapped
17i. _ kicked. bit or hit with a fist
17j. _ kicked. bit or hit with an object/weapon
17k. _ choked

18. Description of complainant's action:

19a. Physical injury sustained:
0 no information
1 yes
2 no

If physical injury sustained. nature of injuries:

19b. swelling. bruising to head and neck
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

19c. wounds to head and neck
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

19d. swelling. bruising to body
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

19e. wounds to body
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

19f. fractures. any site
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

19g. If yes. was physical injury serious enough to require medical treatment?
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

19h. If yes. physical injury was:
1 treated at scene
2 treated at scene by emergency medical personnel
3 treated at hospital and patient released
4 treated at hospital and patient detained in hospital due to injuries
5 not treated. party refused treatment
6 not immediately treated. party sought own medical attention
9 not applicable

20a. Statement given to police
1 yes
2 no

20b. If yes. time statement was written/provided: _ _ _ _ (NA=9999)

20c. If yes. date statement was written/provided: _ _ / _ _ / _ _ (NA=99/99/99)

20d. If yes. place statement was written/provided:

0 no information
1 occurrence location
2 own residence (if different from occurrence location)
3 hospital
4 street
5 police station
6 other (specify) ____________________
9 not applicable

21. Condition at time of arrest/police involvement:
(0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

a. _ sober/coherent
b. _ intoxicated
c. _ incoherent
d. _ injury/illness
e. _ hysterical
f. _ crying
g. _ other (specify) ____________________

22. Attitude or demeanour at time of arrest/police involvement
(0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

a. _ boisterous
b. _ fighting (combatative. aggressive)
c. _ belligerent
d. _ cooperative
e. _ uncooperative
f. _ upset
g. _ other (specify) ____________________

23. Biographical (PROBE) information:

____
____
____
____
____
____

24. Comments made to officers:

____
____
____

25. Comments made by officers:

____
____
____

Appendix Five

WITNESS # _ :

1a. Date of birth: __ / __ / __ (year/month/day)

1b. Status:

- 1 adult
- 2 youth (under 18 years)

2. Sex:

- 1 male
- 2 female

3a. Employment status at time of occurrence:

- 0 no information
- 1 employed
- 2 unemployed
- 3 retired
- 4 going to school
- 5 other (specify) _______________

3b. Employment type: ____ (see attached coding sheets)

(______________________________)

3c. If currently unemployed, length of time unemployed: __ (# weeks)

4. Race:

- 0 no information
- 1 white
- 2 Native Indian
- 3 black
- 4 East Indian
- 5 Oriental
- 6 Hispanic
- 7 Other (specify) _______________

5. Criminal record:

_ (0=no information, 1=yes, 2=no, 9=not applicable)

6. Relationship to accused:

__

[00	no information	09	child (son/daughter)
01	husband	10	other immed. family
02	wife	11	extended family
03	cohabiter	12	friend
04	boy/girlfriend	13	room-mate
05	ex-spouse	14	business associate
06	ex-cohabiter	15	casual acquaintance
07	sibling (brother/sister)	16	stranger
08	parent (mother/father)	99	N/A]

7. Relationship to complainant: __ (coded as above)

Relationship to other witnesses/bystanders:

8a. __ relationship to witness #1 (coded as above)

8b. __ relationship to witness #2 (coded as above)

8c. __ relationship to witness #3 (coded as above)

9. General appearance (i.e. physical presence, type of dress, mannerisms, facial expressions):

____

____

____

10. Use of alcohol prior to incident:

_ (0=no information, 1=yes, 2=no, 9=not applicable)

11. Use of drugs prior to incident:

_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

Condition at time of arrest/police involvement:

(0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

12a. _ sober/coherent
12b. _ intoxicated
12c. _ incoherent
12d. _ injury/illness
12e. _ hysterical
12f. _ crying
12g. _ other (specify) ____________________

Attitude or demeanour at time of arrest/police involvement:

(0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

13a. _ boisterous
13b. _ fighting (combatative. aggressive)
13c. _ belligerent
13d. _ cooperative
13e. _ uncooperative
13f. _ upset
13g. _ other (specify) ____________________

14a. Was the witness physically present at the time of the assault?
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

14b. Did the witness directly witness the assault?
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

14c. Did the witness at any time verbally or gesturally attempt to stop the (pending) assault?
0 no information
1 yes (specify: ____________________________________)
2 no
9 not applicable

14d. Did the witness at any time physically attempt to stop the (pending) assault? 0
no information
1 yes (specify: ____________________________________)
2 no
9 not applicable

14e. Did the witness in any way encourage the assault?
0 no information
1 yes (specify: ____________________________________)
2 no
9 not applicable

15. Summary of witness's action:
____
____
____

16a. Injury sustained:
0 no information
1 yes
2 no
9 not applicable

16b. If yes. was injury serious enough to require medical treatment?
0 no information
1 yes
2 no
9 not applicable

16c. If yes, injury was:
  1 treated at scene
  2 treated at scene by emergency medical personnel
  3 treated at hospital and patient released
  4 treated at hospital and patient detained in hospital due to injuries
  5 not treated, party refused treatment
  6 not immediately treated, party sought own medical attention
  9 not applicable

17a. Statement given to police:
  1 yes
  2 no

17b. If yes, time statement was written/provided: _ _ _ _ (NA=9999)

17c. If yes, date statement was written/provided: _ _ / _ _ / _ _ (NA=99/99/99)

17d. If yes, place statement was written/provided:
  0 no information
  1 occurrence location
  2 own residence (if different from occurrence location)
  3 hospital
  4 street
  5 police station
  6 other (specify) ____________________
  9 not applicable

18. Biographical information:
____
____
____

19. Comments made to officers:
____
____
____

20. Comments made by officers:
____
____
____

Appendix Six

PRE-ASSAULT

1a. Do the CO and AC have any kind of history together (i.e. have dealt with each other in any capacity on any occasion in the past)? [Cross ref. ACCUSED q.15. COMPLAINANT q.9]
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)
If yes. on what type of occasion have the two parties dealt with each other?
(0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)
b. _ work-related
c. _ home-related
d. _ leisure-related
e. _ incidental
f. _ other (specify: ______________________)
g. If the two parties have dealt with each other. is there any evidence of a rehearsal or past hostilities between the CO and AC?
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable
If evidence of previous hostilities. the rehearsal consisted of:
(0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)
h. _ previous verbal/gestural hostilities (i.e. a challenge. threat or comment)
i. _ previous physical violence
j. _ nature of hostilities unknown (comment by police. participant. social services)
k. _ other (specify below)
(Specific nature of rehearsal: ____
____)
l. If evidence of previous hostilities. had the police attended to these two parties in the past?
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)
2. Is there any evidence of the AC having a history of violent encounters in the past with someone other than the current CO?
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)
(If yes. evidence: ____)
3. Is there any evidence of the CO having a history of violent encounters in the past with someone other than the current AC?
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)
(If yes. evidence: ____)

SITUATED TRANSACTIONS

4a. Does it appear that there was a transaction between the two parties that could be considered a character contest (i.e. a confrontation in which at least one person tried to establish or save face through physical action and/or gestural/verbal action)?
_ (0=no/not enough information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)
b. Which party initiated the action/gesture/verbalization that the other party interpreted as offensive (regardless of the intent of the initiator)? who appears to have initiated the character contest?
0 no/not enough information
1 the accused
2 the complainant
3 another party (specify: ______________________)
9 not applicable
c. Was there an identifiable action/gesture/verbalization that served to transform the occasion to one suited for violence (according to at least one of the parties)?
_ (0=no/not enough information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

d. Did the affront take place in the other's immediate physical presence (i.e prior to the parties meeting on this particular occasion)?
_ (0=no/not enough information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

5. What did the initial affront/personal offense consist of? [stage one - affront/personal offense] (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)
a. _ verbal insult levied at attribute of other's self. friend or family
b. _ verbal tirade (disparaging overall character of other)
c. _ other direct verbal expression (specify below)
d. _ refusal to cooperate or comply with request
e. _ refusal to conciliate a failing relationship
f. _ refusal to comply with a verbal sexual advance or suggestion
g. _ refusal to comply with a physical sexual advance
h. _ failure to heed request to stay out of off-limit territory or turf
i. _ refusal to conciliate a misunderstanding
j. _ physical/non-verbal gesture
(If yes. specific action/gesture/verbalization : ______________________________
____)

6. The action was likely interpreted as an affront via: [stage two - interpretation and assessment] (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)
a. _ direct inquiry of the victim (directly ascertained impropriety)
b. _ direct inquiry of audience (interested bystanders)
c. _ imputed meaning based on rehearsals or previous encounters with this specific individual
d. _ imputed meaning based on own biography/past experience not involving this specific individual
e. _ other (specify : ____)

7. The response to this perceived impropriety/affront was: [stage three -response/retaliation]
a. _ verbal challenge - demand for an apology (ultimatum)
b. _ verbal challenge - demand for other to flee situation
c. _ verbal challenge - demand for other to discontinue conduct
d. _ verbal challenge - threaten to harm
e. _ command to other to back down
f. _ call for fight
g. _ other verbal action
h. _ gesture
i. _ physical action/challenge
(Specify nature of response: ______________________________________
____)

8. Once the offended party attempted to make it clear that the situation was one calling for violence. the initiator responded by: [stage four - working agreement]
a. _ refusing to cooperate (non-compliance)
b. _ continuing offensive activity (non-compliance)
c. _ refusing to conciliate (non-compliance)
d. _ unwittingly continuing activity deemed offensive by other (non-compliance)
e. _ apologizing
f. _ discontinuing conduct
g. _ fleeing the situation
h. _ physically retaliating
i. _ issuing a counter-challenge (i.e. calling the other's bluff, challenging or threatening the other)

9. Did there appear to be a consensus between the two (or more) parties that violence was a suitable way of dealing with this situation?
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)
(If yes or no. explain: ____
____)

10a. Were there any people directly witnessing this situation?
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

b. If yes. the initial audience response to this situation was:
0 no information
1 positive (supporting an interpretation of the situation as one suited for violence)
2 neutral (no overt involvement)
3 negative (not supporting an interpretation of the situation as suited for violence)
9 not applicable

If audience response was positive. audience response consisted of:
(0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)
c. _ affirming initial improprieties
d. _ cheering toward violent action
e. _ blocking outside interference
f. _ providing weapons
g. _ other (specify: ______________________________)

If audience response was negative. audience response consisted of:
(0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)
h. _ disaffirming initial improprieties
i. _ suggesting alternative action
j. _ encouraging outside interference
k. _ confiscating weapons
l. _ calling police
m. _ attempting to physically hold one party
n. _ actively attempting to protect victim
o. _ other (specify: ______________________________)

p. Did the audience response to this situation change in any way (for example. turn from positive to negative) over the course of this transaction?
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)
(If yes. specify nature of change: ____________________________________
____)

11a. Did one or the other party seek a weapon? [stage five - commitment to battle]
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)
If yes. weapons were sought by:
b. _ the accused
c. _ the complainant
d. _ another party
e. _ not applicable

12a. Did one or the other party secure a weapon and use it?
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)
If yes. weapons were secured and used by:
b. _ the accused
c. _ the complainant
d. _ another party
e. _ not applicable

13. Was there any escape mechanism or technique available to the CO to break off the transaction prior to violence occurring?
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)
(Explain: ____)

14. Was there any escape mechanism or technique available to the AC to break off the transaction prior to violence occurring?
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)
(Explain: ____)

15. Immediately after the assault. the initiator: [stage six - termination]
(0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)
a. _ remained on the scene (i.e. waiting for police and/or emergency personnel)
b. _ left or fled the scene (i.e. to escape and/or get help)
c. _ called police from scene
d. _ other (specify: ____________________________________)

16. Immediately after the assault. the offended party:
(0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)
a. _ voluntarily remained on scene
b. _ involuntarily remained on scene (i.e. held by audience)
c. _ left or fled the scene (i.e. to escape police and/or get help)
d. _ called police from scene
e. _ other (specify: ____________________________________)

17. Immediately after the assault. the audience:
(0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)
a. _ assisted offender's escape (supportive)
b. _ destroyed evidence (supportive)
c. _ maintained ignorance of event (supportive)
d. _ apprehended offender (hostile)
e. _ assisted victim (hostile)
f. _ notified police (hostile)
g. _ suggested (without force) that the offender assist victim. call police. etc.

POST-ASSAULT

18. Were the police immediately involved in the occurrence (i.e. within 2 hours) after the assault?
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

19. Did the police attend the occurrence location?
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)
(If yes. action taken at the scene: ____________________________________
____)

20. Is there any indication that the CO wanted at any point to lay charges against the accused (regardless of whether charges were laid)?
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

21. Was the CO advised by the police to "lay his/her own information"?
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

22. Is there any indication that the AC wanted at any point to lay charges against the complainant (regardless of whether charges were laid)?
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

23. Was the AC advised by the police to "lay his/her own information"?
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

24a. Did victim services contact the complainant at a later date?
_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

b. If yes. the date victim services contacted the CO was: _ _ / _ _ / _ _
(If yes. what were the general comments with regard to the CO's recovery?
____
____
____)

25. Is there evidence to suggest that the CO (attempted to make or) made compensation claims with regard to this incident?

_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

26. Were charges withdrawn prior to first appearance?

_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

27. Did this incident result in the AC being sentenced?

_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

Court follow-up/sentence:

28. First appearance date: __/__/__ (NA=99/99/99)

29. Plea:

0	no information
1	guilty
2	not guilty
9	not applicable

30. Presiding judge: ____________________

31. Final disposition (and/or sentence) date: __/__/__ (NA=99/99/99)

32. Final disposition: ____

____

____

If applicable:

33. First appearance date: __/__/__ (NA=99/99/99)

34. Plea:

0	no information
1	guilty
2	not guilty
9	not applicable

35. Presiding judge: ____________________

36. Final disposition (and/or sentence) date: __/__/__ (NA=99/99/99)

37. Final disposition: ____

____

____

____

38a. If the sentence consisted of time served. was there a parole inquiry from Corrections Canada?

_ (0=no information. 1=yes. 2=no. 9=not applicable)

b. If yes. what were the recommendations (in general)?

____

____

____

Appendix Seven

Table 4.A: Offender's Sex by Offender's Race

```
                    Offender Race
             Count "
           Col Pct "
                   "                          Row
                   "White  "Abor'l"Other  "  Total
Offender Sex """"""".""""""".""""""".""""""",
                0  "       "       "      1"      1
  not known        "       "       "     .8"     .1
                   š""""""".""""""".""""""",
                1  "    381"    171"    116"    668
  male             "   85.0"   73.4"   92.1"   82.8
                   š""""""".""""""".""""""",
                2  "     67"     62"      9"    138
  female           "   15.0"   26.6"    7.1"   17.1
                   _"""""""□"""""""□"""""""-
           Column      448     233     126     807
            Total     55.5    28.9    15.6   100.0

Chi-Square                 Value              DF                 Significance
Pearson                    30.30744           4                        .00000
Likelihood Ratio           28.99019           4                        .00001
Mantel-Haenszel test for     .29384           1                        .58777
      linear association

Minimum Expected Frequency -     .156
Cells with Expected Frequency < 5 -      3 OF     9 ( 33.3%)
```

Table 4.B: Victim's Sex by Victim's Race

```
                    Victim's Race
            Count  "
           Col Pct "                                      Row
                   "Notknown"White    "Abor'l  "Other    " Total
Victim Sex """"""""."""""""""."""""""""."""""""""."""""""",
                 1 "     64 "    297 "     65 "     51 "    477
  male             "   55.2 "   64.3 "   38.0 "   56.0 "   56.8
                   š"""""""""."""""""""."""""""""."""""""",
                 2 "     52 "    165 "    106 "     40 "    363
  female           "   44.8 "   35.7 "   62.0 "   44.0 "   43.2
                   _""""""""□""""""""□""""""""□""""""""~
            Column      116      462      171       91      840
             Total     13.8     55.0     20.4     10.8    100.0

Chi-Square                Value              DF            Significance
Pearson                   35.29438           3                  .00000
Likelihood Ratio          35.22902           3                  .00000
Mantel-Haenszel test for   6.95006           1                  .00838
      linear association

Minimum Expected Frequency -   39.325
```

Table 4.C: Accused's Race by Victim's Race by Level of Assault

```
Accused's Race  by  Victim's Race
Controlling for..
Common Assault
                    Victim's Race
            Count  "
           Col Pct "                            Row
                   "White   "Abor'l  "Other   " Total
Offender's Race  "".""""""""".""""""""".""""""""",
           White   "   111  "    13  "     8  "   132
                   "  78.7  "  34.2  "  34.8  "  65.3
                   š""""""""".""""""""".""""""""",
           Abor'l  "    17  "    24  "     1  "    42
                   "  12.1  "  63.2  "   4.3  "  20.8
                   š""""""""".""""""""".""""""""",
           Other   "    13  "     1  "    14  "    28
                   "   9.2  "   2.6  "  60.9  "  13.9
                   _"""""""""□"""""""""□"""""""""~
            Column     141       38       23      202
             Total    69.8     18.8     11.4    100.0

Chi-Square                   Value             DF              Significance
Pearson                      96.07070          4                   .00000
Likelihood Ratio             73.60675          4                   .00000
Mantel-Haenszel test for     37.14586          1                   .00000
      linear association
Minimum Expected Frequency -     3.188
Cells with Expected Frequency < 5 -     2 OF     9 ( 22.2%)

Accused's Race  by  Victim's Race
Controlling for..
Level Two Assault
                    Victim's Race
            Count  "
           Col Pct "                            Row
                   "White   "Abor'l  "Other   " Total
Offender's Race  "".""""""""".""""""""".""""""""",
           White   "    65  "    13  "     3  "    81
                   "  69.9  "  26.5  "  13.6  "  49.4
                   š""""""""".""""""""".""""""""",
           Abor'l  "    17  "    34  "     2  "    53
                   "  18.3  "  69.4  "   9.1  "  32.3
                   š""""""""".""""""""".""""""""",
           Other   "    11  "     2  "    17  "    30
                   "  11.8  "   4.1  "  77.3  "  18.3
                   _"""""""""□"""""""""□"""""""""~
            Column      93       49       22      164
             Total    56.7     29.9     13.4    100.0

Chi-Square                   Value             DF              Significance
Pearson                      98.34378          4                   .00000
Likelihood Ratio             82.16548          4                   .00000
Mantel-Haenszel test for     42.87540          1                   .00000
      linear association
Minimum Expected Frequency -     4.024
Cells with Expected Frequency < 5 -     1 OF     9 ( 11.1%)
```

Table 4.C: (continued)

```
Accused's Race  by  Victim's Race
Controlling for..
Aggravated Assault

                    Victim's Race
            Count  "
           Col Pct "                            Row
                   "White   "Abor'l  "Other   " Total
Offender's Race  "".""""""""."""""""""."""""""",
           White   "     38 "       7 "       2 "    47
                   "   66.7 "   19.4 "   18.2 "  45.2
                   š""""""""."""""""""."""""""",
           Abor'l  "     14 "      26 "       3 "    43
                   "   24.6 "   72.2 "   27.3 "  41.3
                   š""""""""."""""""""."""""""",
           Other   "      5 "       3 "       6 "    14
                   "    8.8 "    8.3 "   54.5 "  13.5
                   _""""""""□""""""""□""""""""-
            Column       57       36       11      104
             Total     54.8     34.6     10.6    100.0

Chi-Square                Value              DF            Significance
Pearson                   41.01166           4                 .00000
Likelihood Ratio          35.65306           4                 .00000
Mantel-Haenszel test for  21.47064           1                 .00000
      linear association

Minimum Expected Frequency -    1.481
Cells with Expected Frequency < 5 -     4 OF     9 ( 44.4%)
```

Table 4.D: Accused's Sex by Victim's Sex by Level of Assault

```
Accused's sex  by  Victim's sex
Controlling for..
Common Assault
                    Victim's sex
           Count  "
           Col Pct "male     female
                   "                    Row
                   "    1  "     2  " Total
Offender's Sex """".""""""""".""""""""",
             1  "   100  "   114  "   214
  male          "  87.7  "  82.0  "  84.6
                §""""""""".""""""""",
             2  "    14  "    25  "    39
  female        "  12.3  "  18.0  "  15.4
                _"""""""""□"""""""""~
            Column     114      139      253
             Total    45.1     54.9    100.0

Chi-Square                    Value              DF          Significance
Pearson                       1.56336            1                 .21117
Continuity Correction         1.15644            1                 .28220
Likelihood Ratio              1.58722            1                 .20772
Mantel-Haenszel test for      1.55718            1                 .21208
      linear association
Minimum Expected Frequency -    17.573

Accused's sex  by  Victim's sex
Controlling for..
Level Two Assault
                    Victim's sex
            Count  "
           Col Pct "male     female
                   "                    Row
                   "    1  "     2  " Total
Offender's Sex """".""""""""".""""""""",
             1  "    85  "    80  "   165
  male          "  85.0  "  80.0  "  82.5
                §""""""""".""""""""",
             2  "    15  "    20  "    35
  female        "  15.0  "  20.0  "  17.5
                _"""""""""□"""""""""~
            Column     100      100      200
             Total    50.0     50.0    100.0

Chi-Square                    Value              DF          Significance
Pearson                        .86580            1                 .35212
Continuity Correction          .55411            1                 .45664
Likelihood Ratio               .86827            1                 .35143
Mantel-Haenszel test for       .86147            1                 .35333
      linear association
Minimum Expected Frequency -    17.500
```

Table 4.D: (continued)

```
Accused's sex  by  Victim's sex
Controlling for..
Aggravated Assault

                    Victim's sex
            Count  "
           Col Pct "male      female
                   "                    Row
                   "     1  "     2  " Total
Offender's Sex """"."""""""""."""""""""›
                1  "    66  "    25  "   91
  male             "  81.5  "  75.8  "  79.8
                   š"""""""""."""""""""›
                2  "    15  "     8  "   23
  female           "  18.5  "  24.2  "  20.2
                   _""""""""□""""""""~
            Column      81      33     114
             Total    71.1    28.9   100.0

Chi-Square                Value              DF            Significance
Pearson                     .47700           1                  .48978
Continuity Correction       .18779           1                  .66476
Likelihood Ratio            .46461           1                  .49548
Mantel-Haenszel test for    .47282           1                  .49169
      linear association

Minimum Expected Frequency -    6.658
```

Table 4.E: Victim-Offender Relationship by Victim Race (Females Only)

```
                    Victim's Race
            Count  "
          Col Pct  "                            Row
                   "White    "Abor'l  "Other   " Total
V-O Relationship ""•""""""""•""""""""•""""""""›
        Intimate   "     60 "     56 "     21 "    137
                   "   53.1 "   65.9 "   70.0 "   60.1
                   š""""""""•""""""""•""""""""›
       Other immed."     14 "      7 "      2 "     23
           Family  "   12.4 "    8.2 "    6.7 "   10.1
                   š""""""""•""""""""•""""""""›
       Ext. Fam./  "      7 "      7 "      2 "     16
           Friends "    6.2 "    8.2 "    6.7 "    7.0
                   š""""""""•""""""""•""""""""›
       Cas. Acqnt. "     18 "      9 "      2 "     29
                   "   15.9 "   10.6 "    6.7 "   12.7
                   š""""""""•""""""""•""""""""›
       Stranger    "     14 "      6 "      3 "     23
                   "   12.4 "    7.1 "   10.0 "   10.1
                   _""""""""□""""""""□""""""""-
            Column      113       85       30      228
             Total     49.6     37.3     13.2    100.0

Chi-Square                 Value              DF             Significance
Pearson                     6.85864           8                    .55196
Likelihood Ratio            7.06326           8                    .52982
Mantel-Haenszel test for    3.51214           1                    .06092
      linear association

Minimum Expected Frequency -     2.105
Cells with Expected Frequency < 5 -     4 OF    15 ( 26.7%)

Number of Missing Observations:  47
```

Table 4.F: Victim-Offender Relationship by Victim Age

```
                   Victim Age Category
             Count  "
           Col Pct  "
                    "                                          Row
                    1-17   "18-25 "26-35 "36-45 "46+    " Total
V-O Relationship    "•"""""""•"""""""•"""""""•"""""""•""""""",
       Intimate     "    7"     53"     73"     28"      9"   170
                    "   7.7"  38.1"  42.7"  30.4"  18.8"   31.4
                    š"""""""•"""""""•"""""""•"""""""•""""""",
       Other immed."    24"      9"      8"      9"      8"    58
           Family   "  26.4"   6.5"   4.7"   9.8"  16.7"   10.7
                    š"""""""•"""""""•"""""""•"""""""•""""""",
       Ext. Fam./   "     7"     14"     16"      7"      3"    47
           Friends  "   7.7"  10.1"   9.4"   7.6"   6.3"    8.7
                    š"""""""•"""""""•"""""""•"""""""•""""""",
       Cas. Acqnt.  "    36"     18"     26"     24"     17"   121
                    "  39.6"  12.9"  15.2"  26.1"  35.4"   22.4
                    š"""""""•"""""""•"""""""•"""""""•""""""",
       Stranger     "    17"     45"     48"     24"     11"   145
                    "  18.7"  32.4"  28.1"  26.1"  22.9"   26.8
                    _"""""""□"""""""□"""""""□"""""""□"""""""-
            Column       91     139     171      92      48    541
             Total     16.8    25.7    31.6    17.0     8.9  100.0

Chi-Square                    Value              DF           Significance
Pearson                       89.17927           16                 .00000
Likelihood Ratio              90.46003           16                 .00000
Mantel-Haenszel test for        .21537            1                 .64259
      linear association

Minimum Expected Frequency -     4.170
Cells with Expected Frequency < 5 -      1 OF    25 (  4.0%)

Number of Missing Observations:  44
```

Table 4.G Offender Criminal Record by Offender Sex

```
                 Accused's sex
         Count  ″
       Col Pct  ″male      female
                ″                      Row
                ″     1   ″     2   ″  Total
Crim. Rec. ″″″″″″″″″•″″″″″″″″″•″″″″″″″″″›
            Yes″   411   ″    76   ″    487
                ″  69.1   ″  56.7   ″   66.8
                š″″″″″″″″″•″″″″″″″″″›
             No ″   184   ″    58   ″    242
                ″  30.9   ″  43.3   ″   33.2
                _″″″″″″″″″□″″″″″″″″″~
         Column     595       134       729
          Total    81.6      18.4     100.0

Chi-Square                    Value          DF          Significance
Pearson                      7.53332          1               .00606
Continuity Correction        6.98631          1               .00821
Likelihood Ratio             7.29889          1               .00690
Mantel-Haenszel test for     7.52299          1               .00609
      linear association
Minimum Expected Frequency -    44.483

Crim. Rec. by Accused's sex
Controlling for..
Aggravated Assault

                 Accused's sex
         Count  ″
       Col Pct  ″male      female
                ″                      Row
                ″     1   ″     2   ″  Total
Crim. Rec. ″″″″″″″″″•″″″″″″″″″•″″″″″″″″″›
            Yes″   107   ″    26   ″    133
                ″  78.7   ″  72.2   ″   77.3
                š″″″″″″″″″•″″″″″″″″″›
             No ″    29   ″    10   ″     39
                ″  21.3   ″  27.8   ″   22.7
                _″″″″″″″″″□″″″″″″″″″~
         Column     136        36       172
          Total    79.1      20.9     100.0

Chi-Square                    Value          DF          Significance
Pearson                       .67631          1               .41086
Continuity Correction         .35828          1               .54946
Likelihood Ratio              .65318          1               .41898
Mantel-Haenszel test for      .67238          1               .41222
      linear association
Minimum Expected Frequency -     8.163
```

Table 4.G: (Continued)

```
Crim. Rec. by Accused's sex
Controlling for..
Level Two Assault

                    Accused's sex
            Count  "
          Col Pct  "male      female
                   "                      Row
                   "     1  "      2  " Total
Crim. Rec.  """""""""•"""""""""•"""""""""›
              Yes"   160  "     22  "   182
                 "  69.6  "   46.8  "  65.7
                   š"""""""""•"""""""""›
               No "    70  "     25  "    95
                 "  30.4  "   53.2  "  34.3
                   _"""""""""□"""""""""~
           Column    230        47      277
            Total   83.0      17.0    100.0

Chi-Square                 Value              DF           Significance
Pearson                   8.96870             1                 .00275
Continuity Correction     7.98723             1                 .00471
Likelihood Ratio          8.57491             1                 .00341
Mantel-Haenszel test for  8.93632             1                 .00280
      linear association
Minimum Expected Frequency -   16.119

Crim. Rec. by Accused's sex
Controlling for..
Common Assault

                    Accused's sex
            Count  "
          Col Pct  "male      female
                   "                      Row
                   "     1  "      2  " Total
Crim. Rec.  """""""""•"""""""""•"""""""""›
              Yes"   144  "     28  "   172
                 "  62.9  "   54.9  "  61.4
                   š"""""""""•"""""""""›
               No "    85  "     23  "   108
                 "  37.1  "   45.1  "  38.6
                   _"""""""""□"""""""""~
           Column    229        51      280
            Total   81.8      18.2    100.0

Chi-Square                 Value              DF           Significance
Pearson                   1.12107             1                 .28969
Continuity Correction      .80956             1                 .36825
Likelihood Ratio          1.10597             1                 .29296
Mantel-Haenszel test for  1.11706             1                 .29055
      linear association
Minimum Expected Frequency -   19.671
```

Table 4.H: Offender Criminal Record by Offender Age Category

```
                  Age Category
          Count "
        Col Pct "
                "                                      Row
                " 1-17 "18-25 "26-35 "36-45 "46+yrs" Total
Crim. Rec. """""""""."""""""."""""""."""""""."""""""."""""""›
             Yes"    28"   155"   201"    71"    30"   485
                "  27.5"  68.9"  79.1"  73.2"  62.5"  66.8
                š""""""".""""""".""""""".""""""".""""""",
             No "    74"    70"    53"    26"    18"   241
                "  72.5"  31.1"  20.9"  26.8"  37.5"  33.2
                -"""""""□"""""""□"""""""□"""""""□"""""""-
          Column    102     225    254     97     48    726
           Total   14.0    31.0   35.0   13.4    6.6  100.0

Chi-Square                  Value           DF          Significance
Pearson                     91.27297        4                 .00000
Likelihood Ratio            87.47392        4                 .00000
Mantel-Haenszel test for    32.12848        1                 .00000
      linear association

Minimum Expected Frequency -   15.934
```

Table 4.1: Offender Criminal Record by Offender Race

```
                    Offender Race
            Count  ”
           Col Pct ”
                   ”                       Row
                   ”White ”Abor'l”Other ” Total
Crim. Rec. """"""""•""""""•""""""•"""""",
                Yes”   265”   171”    48”   484
                   ”  64.5”  86.4”  45.3”  67.7
                   š""""""•""""""•"""""",
                No ”   146”    27”    58”   231
                   ”  35.5”  13.6”  54.7”  32.3
                   _""""""□""""""□""""""~
            Column     411    198    106    715
             Total    57.5   27.7   14.8  100.0

Chi-Square                Value              DF            Significance
Pearson                   57.84521           2                   .00000
Likelihood Ratio          61.16316           2                   .00000
Mantel-Haenszel test for  1.31071            1                   .25227
      linear association
Minimum Expected Frequency -   34.246


Crim. Rec. by Offender Race
Controlling for..
Aggravated Assault
                    Offender Race
            Count  ”
           Col Pct ”
                   ”                       Row
                   ”White ”Abor'l”Other ” Total
Crim. Rec. """"""""•""""""•""""""•"""""",
                Yes”    62”    59”    10”   131
                   ”  76.5”  90.8”  43.5”  77.5
                   š""""""•""""""•"""""",
                No ”    19”     6”    13”    38
                   ”  23.5”   9.2”  56.5”  22.5
                   _""""""□""""""□""""""~
            Column      81     65     23    169
             Total    47.9   38.5   13.6  100.0

Chi-Square                Value              DF            Significance
Pearson                   21.88309           2                   .00002
Likelihood Ratio          20.38794           2                   .00004
Mantel-Haenszel test for   3.36274           1                   .06669
      linear association
Minimum Expected Frequency -    5.172
```

Table 4.1: (Continued)

```
Crim. Rec. by Offender Race
Controlling for..
Level Two Assault
                    Offender Race
            Count  "
           Col Pct "
                   "                       Row
                   "White "Abor'l"Other " Total
Crim. Rec. """"""""•""""""•""""""•"""""",
             Yes"    99"     64"     19"    182
                   "  66.4"  83.1"  39.6"  66.4
                   š""""""•""""""•"""""",
              No "    50"     13"     29"     92
                   "  33.6"  16.9"  60.4"  33.6
                   _""""""□""""""□""""""~
            Column     149     77     48    274
             Total    54.4   28.1   17.5  100.0

Chi-Square                Value              DF             Significance
Pearson                   25.12540           2                    .00000
Likelihood Ratio          25.22293           2                    .00000
Mantel-Haenszel test for   4.66201           1                    .03084
      linear association
Minimum Expected Frequency -   16.117


Crim. Rec. by Offender Race
Controlling for..
Common Assault
                    Offender Race
            Count  "
           Col Pct "
                   "                       Row
                   "White "Abor'l"Other " Total
Crim. Rec. """"""""•""""""•""""""•"""""",
             Yes"   104"     48"     19"    171
                   "  57.5"  85.7"  54.3"  62.9
                   š""""""•""""""•"""""",
              No "    77"      8"     16"    101
                   "  42.5"  14.3"  45.7"  37.1
                   _""""""□""""""□""""""~
            Column     181     56     35    272
             Total    66.5   20.6   12.9  100.0

Chi-Square                Value              DF             Significance
Pearson                   15.89417           2                    .00035
Likelihood Ratio          17.78059           2                    .00014
Mantel-Haenszel test for   1.42832           1                    .23204
      linear association
Minimum Expected Frequency -   12.996
```

Table 4.J: Previous Assault Convictions by Offender Race

```
                    Offender Race
            Count  "
           Col Pct "
                   "                       Row
                   "White "Abor'l"Other " Total
Prev. Assault """""".""""""".""""""".""""""",
                Yes"   117"   117"    14"   248
                   "  45.2"  68.4"  29.2"  51.9
                   š""""""".""""""".""""""",
                No "   142"    54"    34"   230
                   "  54.8"  31.6"  70.8"  48.1
                   _"""""""□"""""""□"""""""~
            Column     259    171     48    478
             Total    54.2   35.8   10.0  100.0

Chi-Square                Value              DF            Significance
Pearson                   33.32642           2                   .00000
Likelihood Ratio          34.09823           2                   .00000
Mantel-Haenszel test for    .78311           1                   .37619
      linear association

Minimum Expected Frequency -   23.096
```

Table 4.K: Previous Assault Convictions by Offender Age Category

```
                   Age Category
          Count  ″
        Col Pct  ″
                 ″                                          Row
                 ″  1-17 ″18-25 ″26-35 ″36-45 ″46+yrs″ Total
Prev. Assault    """."""""""."""""""."""""""."""""""."""""",
             Yes″     12″     62″    109″     46″     20″    249
                 ″  44.4″   40.8″   54.5″  65.7″   66.7″   52.0
                 š"""""""."""""""."""""""."""""""."""""",
              No ″     15″     90″     91″     24″     10″    230
                 ″  55.6″   59.2″   45.5″  34.3″   33.3″   48.0
                 _"""""""□"""""""□"""""""□"""""""□"""""""-
          Column       27     152     200      70      30    479
           Total      5.6    31.7    41.8    14.6     6.3  100.0

Chi-Square                      Value              DF          Significance
Pearson                         16.63136           4                .00228
Likelihood Ratio                16.82068           4                .00209
Mantel-Haenszel test for        14.24869           1                .00016
      linear association

Minimum Expected Frequency -   12.965
```

Table 4.L: Victim's Criminal Record by Victim Sex

```
                 Victim Sex
          Count  "
        Col Pct  "male      female
                 "                      Row
                 "     1  "     2  "  Total
Crim. Rec.  """""""""•"""""""""•""""""""",
            Yes"    219  "   120  "    339
                 "  47.1  "  33.7  "   41.3
                 š"""""""""•""""""""",
             No  "    246  "   236  "    482
                 "  52.9  "  66.3  "   58.7
                 _"""""""""□"""""""""~
          Column     465      356       821
           Total    56.6     43.4     100.0

Chi-Square                   Value              DF              Significance
Pearson                      14.91042           1                   .00011
Continuity Correction        14.36322           1                   .00015
Likelihood Ratio             15.03044           1                   .00011
Mantel-Haenszel test for     14.89225           1                   .00011
      linear association
Minimum Expected Frequency -  146.996

Victim Record by Victim's Sex
Controlling for..
Aggravated Assault


                 Victim Sex
          Count  "
        Col Pct  "male      female
                 "                      Row
                 "     1  "     2  "  Total
Crim. Rec.  """""""""•"""""""""•""""""""",
            Yes"     73  "    31  "    104
                 "  53.3  "  59.6  "   55.0
                 š"""""""""•""""""""",
             No  "     64  "    21  "     85
                 "  46.7  "  40.4  "   45.0
                 _"""""""""□"""""""""~
          Column     137       52       189
           Total    72.5     27.5     100.0

Chi-Square                   Value              DF              Significance
Pearson                       .61043            1                   .43462
Continuity Correction         .38142            1                   .53684
Likelihood Ratio              .61349            1                   .43348
Mantel-Haenszel test for      .60720            1                   .43584
      linear association
Minimum Expected Frequency -   23.386
```

Table 4.L: (Continued)

```
Victim Record by Victim's Sex
Controlling for..
Level Two Assault

                    Victim Sex
            Count  ″
          Col Pct  ″male      female
                   ″                      Row
                   ″     1  ″     2  ″  Total
Crim. Rec. """""""""•"""""""""•"""""""""›
              Yes″    90  ″    42  ″    132
                   ″  48.1  ″  31.3  ″   41.1
                   š"""""""""•"""""""""›
              No  ″    97  ″    92  ″    189
                   ″  51.9  ″  68.7  ″   58.9
                   _"""""""""□"""""""""-
           Column     187       134      321
            Total     58.3      41.7    100.0

Chi-Square                     Value              DF              Significance
Pearson                      9.08367               1                    .00258
Continuity Correction        8.40364               1                    .00374
Likelihood Ratio             9.20245               1                    .00242
Mantel-Haenszel test for     9.05537               1                    .00262
      linear association
Minimum Expected Frequency -    55.103

Victim Record by Victim's Sex
Controlling for..
Common Assault

                    Victim Sex
            Count  ″
          Col Pct  ″male      female
                   ″                      Row
                   ″     1  ″     2  ″  Total
Crim. Rec. """""""""•"""""""""•"""""""""›
              Yes″    56  ″    47  ″    103
                   ″  39.7  ″  27.6  ″   33.1
                   š"""""""""•"""""""""›
              No  ″    85  ″   123  ″    208
                   ″  60.3  ″  72.4  ″   66.9
                   _"""""""""□"""""""""-
           Column     141       170      311
            Total     45.3      54.7    100.0

Chi-Square                     Value              DF              Significance
Pearson                      5.06861               1                    .02436
Continuity Correction        4.53837               1                    .03314
Likelihood Ratio             5.06075               1                    .02447
Mantel-Haenszel test for     5.05231               1                    .02459
      linear association
Minimum Expected Frequency -    46.698
```

Table 4.M: Victim's Criminal Record by Victim Age Category

```
                    Age Category
            Count  ”
          Col Pct  ”
                   ”                                     Row
                   ” 1-17 ”18-25 ”26-35 ”36-45 ”46+yrs” Total
Crim Record ““““““““.“““““““.“““““““.“““““““.“““““““.“““““““,
             Yes”    22”    68”   132”    72”    45”   339
                   ”  15.1”  30.5”  54.8”  55.8”  59.2”  41.6
                   š““““““““.“““““““.“““““““.“““““““.“““““““,
              No ”   124”   155”   109”    57”    31”   476
                   ”  84.9”  69.5”  45.2”  44.2”  40.8”  58.4
                   _“““““““□“““““““□“““““““□“““““““□“““““““~
            Column    146    223    241    129     76    815
             Total   17.9   27.4   29.6   15.8    9.3  100.0

Chi-Square                 Value                DF             Significance
Pearson                  91.26969               4                   .00000
Likelihood Ratio         96.88249               4                   .00000
Mantel-Haenszel test for 76.09273               1                   .00000
      linear association
Minimum Expected Frequency -    31.612
```

Table 4.N: **Victim's Criminal Record by Victim Race**

```
                 Victim Race
           Count  "
          Col Pct                                          Row
                 "Notknown"White    "Abor'l  "Other    "  Total
Crim. Rec. """"""""".""""""""".""""""""".""""""""".""""""""",
            Yes"       9  "     190  "     107  "      33  "    339
               "     8.0  "    41.9  "    64.1  "    37.1  "    41.3
               š""""""""".""""""""".""""""""".""""""""",
             No "     103  "     263  "      60  "      56  "    482
               "    92.0  "    58.1  "    35.9  "    62.9  "    58.7
               _"""""""""□"""""""""□"""""""""□"""""""""~
          Column       112       453       167        89      821
           Total      13.6      55.2      20.3      10.8    100.0

Chi-Square                      Value              DF           Significance
Pearson                       87.57751              3                 .00000
Likelihood Ratio              98.82552              3                 .00000
Mantel-Haenszel test for      33.28488              1                 .00000
      linear association
Minimum Expected Frequency -     36.749


Criminal Record by Victim Race
Controlling for..
Aggravated Assault
                 Victim Race
           Count  "
          Col Pct                                          Row
                 "Notknown"White    "Abor'l  "Other    "  Total
Crim. Rec. """"""""".""""""""".""""""""".""""""""".""""""""",
            Yes"       3  "      49  "      40  "      12  "    104
               "    15.8  "    55.1  "    80.0  "    38.7  "    55.0
               š""""""""".""""""""".""""""""".""""""""",
             No "      16  "      40  "      10  "      19  "     85
               "    84.2  "    44.9  "    20.0  "    61.3  "    45.0
               _"""""""""□"""""""""□"""""""""□"""""""""~
          Column        19        89        50        31      189
           Total      10.1      47.1      26.5      16.4    100.0

Chi-Square                      Value              DF           Significance
Pearson                       27.75595              3                 .00000
Likelihood Ratio              29.63265              3                 .00000
Mantel-Haenszel test for       2.63541              1                 .10451
      linear association
Minimum Expected Frequency -      8.545
```

Table 4.N: (Continued)

```
Crim. Rec. by Victim Race
Controlling for..
Level Two Assault
                 Victim Race
          Count  "
         Col Pct                                         Row
                 "Notknown"White    "Abor'l  "Other    " Total
Crim. Rec. """""""""•"""""""""•"""""""""•"""""""""•"""""""""›
             Yes"       4  "     77  "     39  "     12  "   132
                "    10.0  "   42.3  "   60.0  "   35.3  "   41.1
                š"""""""""•"""""""""•"""""""""•"""""""""›
             No "      36  "    105  "     26  "     22  "   189
                "    90.0  "   57.7  "   40.0  "   64.7  "   58.9
                _"""""""""□"""""""""□"""""""""□"""""""""~
          Column       40       182       65       34      321
           Total     12.5      56.7     20.2     10.6    100.0

Chi-Square                  Value           DF          Significance
Pearson                     26.15197        3                .00001
Likelihood Ratio            29.19735        3                .00000
Mantel-Haenszel test for     8.28746        1                .00399
      linear association
Minimum Expected Frequency -    13.981


Crim. Rec. by Victim Race
Controlling for..
Common Assault
                 Victim Race
          Count  "
         Col Pct                                         Row
                 "Notknown"White    "Abor'l  "Other    " Total
Crim. Rec. """""""""•"""""""""•"""""""""•"""""""""•"""""""""›
             Yes"       2  "     64  "     28  "      9  "   103
                "     3.8  "   35.2  "   53.8  "   37.5  "   33.1
                š"""""""""•"""""""""•"""""""""•"""""""""›
             No "      51  "    118  "     24  "     15  "   208
                "    96.2  "   64.8  "   46.2  "   62.5  "   66.9
                _"""""""""□"""""""""□"""""""""□"""""""""~
          Column       53       182       52       24      311
           Total     17.0      58.5     16.7      7.7    100.0

Chi-Square                  Value           DF          Significance
Pearson                     31.24268        3                .00000
Likelihood Ratio            38.37487        3                .00000
Mantel-Haenszel test for    18.76414        1                .00001
      linear association
Minimum Expected Frequency -     7.949
```

Table 4.O: Offender's Criminal Record by Victim's Criminal Record

```
                     Victim Crim. Rec.
          Count  "
        Tot Pct  "
                 "                   Row
                 "    Yes"     No"  Total
Offend. CR """""""""."""""""."""""""›
             Yes"     153"    174"    327
                 "   31.6"   36.0"   67.6
                 š"""""""."""""""›
              No "     51"    106"    157
                 "   10.5"   21.9"   32.4
                 _"""""""□"""""""~
          Column      204     280     484
           Total     42.1    57.9   100.0

Chi-Square                    Value           DF          Significance
Pearson                     8.90174            1                .00285
Continuity Correction       8.32475            1                .00391
Likelihood Ratio            9.04847            1                .00263
Mantel-Haenszel test for    8.88335            1                .00288
      linear association
Minimum Expected Frequency -    66.174


Offender Crim. Rec. by Victim Crim. Rec.
Controlling for..
Aggravated Assault

                     Victim Crim. Rec.
          Count  "
        Tot Pct  "
                 "                   Row
                 "    Yes"     No"  Total
Offend. CR """""""""."""""""."""""""›
             Yes"      50"     24"     74
                 "   54.3"   26.1"   80.4
                 š"""""""."""""""›
              No "      7"     11"     18
                 "    7.6"   12.0"   19.6
                 _"""""""□"""""""~
          Column       57      35      92
           Total     62.0    38.0   100.0

Chi-Square                    Value           DF          Significance
Pearson                     5.05205            1                .02460
Continuity Correction       3.90858            1                .04804
Likelihood Ratio            4.91719            1                .02659
Mantel-Haenszel test for    4.99713            1                .02539
      linear association
Minimum Expected Frequency -     6.848
```

Table 4.O: (Continued)

```
Offender Crim. Rec. by Victim Crim. Rec.
Controlling for..
Level Two Assault

                    Victim Crim. Rec.
            Count  "
           Tot Pct "
                   "                Row
                   "   Yes"    No" Total
Offend. CR """"""""".""""""".""""""",
                Yes"    55"    65"   120
                   "  31.3"  36.9"  68.2
                   š""""""".""""""",
                No "    20"    36"    56
                   "  11.4"  20.5"  31.8
                   _"""""""□"""""""~
            Column      75     101     176
             Total    42.6    57.4   100.0

Chi-Square                Value              DF             Significance
Pearson                   1.59874            1                   .20608
Continuity Correction     1.21173            1                   .27099
Likelihood Ratio          1.61505            1                   .20378
Mantel-Haenszel test for  1.58966            1                   .20737
      linear association
Minimum Expected Frequency -   23.864


Offender Crim. Rec. by Victim Crim. Rec.
Controlling for..
Common Assault

                    Victim Crim. Rec.
            Count  "
           Tot Pct "
                   "                Row
                   "   Yes"    No" Total
Offend. CR """"""""".""""""".""""""",
                Yes"    48"    85"   133
                   "  22.2"  39.4"  61.6
                   š""""""".""""""",
                No "    24"    59"    83
                   "  11.1"  27.3"  38.4
                   _"""""""□"""""""~
            Column      72     144     216
             Total    33.3    66.7   100.0

Chi-Square                Value              DF             Significance
Pearson                   1.18380            1                   .27658
Continuity Correction      .88296            1                   .34739
Likelihood Ratio          1.19572            1                   .27418
Mantel-Haenszel test for  1.17832            1                   .27770
      linear association
Minimum Expected Frequency -   27.667
```

Table 4.P: Offender by Victim Previous Assault Convictions

```
                 Victim
         Count  "
       Tot Pct  "
                "               Row
                "   Yes"    No" Total
Offender        •"""""""•"""""""›
            Yes"    34"     56"     90
                "  22.4"  36.8"   59.2
                š"""""""•"""""""›
            No  "    20"     42"     62
                "  13.2"  27.6"   40.8
                _"""""""□"""""""~
         Column      54      98    152
          Total    35.5    64.5  100.0

Chi-Square                   Value           DF           Significance
Pearson                      .48830          1                 .48468
Continuity Correction        .27705          1                 .59864
Likelihood Ratio             .49081          1                 .48356
Mantel-Haenszel test for     .48509          1                 .48612
      linear association
Minimum Expected Frequency -    22.026


O-V Previous Assault Convictions
Controlling for..
Aggravated Assault

                 Victim
         Count  "
       Tot Pct  "
                "               Row
                "   Yes"    No" Total
Offender """"""""•"""""""•"""""""›
            Yes"    19"     15"     34
                "  38.8"  30.6"   69.4
                š"""""""•"""""""›
            No  "     5"     10"     15
                "  10.2"  20.4"   30.6
                _"""""""□"""""""~
         Column      24      25     49
          Total    49.0    51.0  100.0

Chi-Square                   Value           DF           Significance
Pearson                      2.11773         1                 .14560
Continuity Correction        1.31151         1                 .25212
Likelihood Ratio             2.15026         1                 .14255
Mantel-Haenszel test for     2.07451         1                 .14978
      linear association

Minimum Expected Frequency -     7.347
```

Table 4.P (Continued)

```
O-V Previous Assault Convictions
Controlling for..
Level Two Assault

                    Victim
            Count   ”
           Tot Pct  ”
                    ”                Row
                    ”   Yes”    No”  Total
Offender   ”””””””””•”””””””•”””””””›
                Yes”     11”     20”     31
                    ”   20.4”   37.0”   57.4
                    š”””””””•”””””””›
                 No ”      9”     14”     23
                    ”   16.7”   25.9”   42.6
                    _”””””””□”””””””~
            Column       20      34      54
             Total     37.0    63.0   100.0

Chi-Square                 Value              DF           Significance
Pearson                    .07529             1                .78378
Continuity Correction      .00000             1               1.00000
Likelihood Ratio           .07516             1                .78396
Mantel-Haenszel test for   .07390             1                .78575
      linear association
Minimum Expected Frequency -     8.519

O-V Previous Assault Convictions
Controlling for..
Common Assault

                    Victim
            Count   ”
           Tot Pct  ”
                    ”                Row
                    ”   Yes”    No”  Total
Offender          ”””””””””•”””””””•”””””””›
                Yes”      4”     21”     25
                    ”    8.2”   42.9”   51.0
                    š”””””””•”””””””›
                 No ”      6”     18”     24
                    ”   12.2”   36.7”   49.0
                    _”””””””□”””””””~
            Column       10      39      49
             Total     20.4    79.6   100.0

Chi-Square                 Value              DF           Significance
Pearson                    .61062             1                .43456
Continuity Correction      .18223             1                .66946
Likelihood Ratio           .61330             1                .43355
Mantel-Haenszel test for   .59815             1                .43928
      linear association
Minimum Expected Frequency -     4.898
```